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Critic as Witness: Francis Hackett and His America, 1883-1914.

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CRITIC AS WITNESS: FRANCIS HACKETT AND HIS
AMERICA, 1883-1914.

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural
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Biography

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CRITIC AS WITNESS: FRANCIS HACKETT
AND HIS AMERICA, 1883-1914

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of History

by
Hyland B. Packard, Jr.
B.A., University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1960
M.A., Duke University, 1964
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FOREWARD

While investigating a group of American intellectuals for research on a dissertation, I was waylaid by one intellectual. In reading the 1919-1921 issues of the New Republic, I became more and more interested in that journal's founding literary editor, Francis Hackett. His comments on Sinclair Lewis and John Dos Passos, I recall, seemed well to stand the test of time. I decided that an examination of Francis Hackett during 1921, the first year of what seemed a pivotal decade in American literature, would be an excellent topic for a graduate paper. Professor Darwin Shrell, who was familiar with some of Hackett's significant reviews, encouraged my interest in Hackett.

As I read for the paper my interest increased, and I became convinced that an intellectual biography of Hackett would be valuable. The brief, misleading, and even incorrect discussion of Hackett in various political and literary studies, in addition to the great influence attributed to Hackett by writers such as Sherwood Anderson and publishers such as B. W. Huebsch and Alfred Harcourt, and the high regard for his abilities expressed by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Harold Laski, Felix Frankfurter, Sinclair Lewis, H. L. Mencken, and many others, led me to

suggest to my dissertation advisor that here was a dissertation topic in history which I would prefer to explore before probing the vast and complex topic we had previously agreed upon. Not that Francis Hackett seemed simple, but a survey of one intellectual well done seemed better than forty half-baked, and I suspected that I could not, at that stage, do justice to forty or so complex individuals.

I began research on the life of Hackett, giving most of my attention to the years from 1914 until his death in 1952. But then I made two discoveries. I became aware of the effect on Hackett's intellectual attitudes made by his youth in Kilkenny, Ireland and Clongowes Wood College, Kildare. In what I considered the final throes of my research, I read the Friday Literary Review, a literary newspaper supplement so well edited by Francis Hackett in Chicago during the years 1909 to 1911 that he had gained a national reputation as a literary critic and editor at the age of twenty-six. As I began to organize this material I realized that what was to have been mere background for a study of the mature Hackett now loomed as a rather significant part of the change from an older, genteel culture in America to that more resembling our own time.

The issue was an old one: when did so many Americans begin to change their minds about so many things, as they obviously did, sometime between 1880 and 1929? What were the differences between the writers and reform activists of the nineteenth century, the Progressive period, the 1920's,

and the New Deal? Francis Hackett, while not a seminal thinker, was yet a very discriminating intellectual who transmitted what others, more original, had created. What was it that he rejected and what did he explain, use, and propagandize? While a study of Hackett in the years 1883 to 1914 would not answer the larger questions of cultural change, it could contribute to such an answer.

The journalistic literary critic, especially one who believes in a vital relation between literature and experience, is a very important witness to the intellectual tides when they first appear in the fissures of the established culture. More, he links them to other new currents, and, assessing the dangers in each new idea, hopefully points his readers to a better future. In breaking ground for the "Chicago Renaissance" of 1909-1915, Francis Hackett helped to plant the seeds of the twentieth-century cultural revolution in America.

This study is the initial portion of a projected intellectual history of Francis Hackett. Hackett served as literary editor of the New Republic from 1914 to 1922. After that date he continued to publish much free-lance work in important American magazines and newspapers while living in Europe. In the 1940's he was regularly connected with the New York Times as a bi-weekly reviewer and with the American Mercury. In the 1930's Hackett lived in Ireland before he fled its censorship and went to his wife's native land, Denmark, until the Nazi danger once more made

him an immigrant to America. In the 1940's and early 1950's he once more lived in America. He again chose, however, to live in Denmark and died there in 1962. From 1914 to the 1950's Hackett published many books of fiction, literary criticism, Irish history, and autobiography, but the reader probably most readily associates his name with his popular histories of Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, and Francis I which he began to publish in 1929. Throughout much of his adult life, Hackett maintained vital friendships with such important American figures as the publisher Benjamin W. Huebsch and Justice Felix Frankfurter of the United States Supreme Court.

Among the many people who have helped me in the past years are Mrs. Mathe' Allain and Professor Paul Conkin, who first stirred my interest in the history of ideas and culture at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, and Professors Harold T. Parker and I. B. Holley, who kindly encouraged that interest at Duke University. I wish to thank, in particular, the librarians at Louisiana State University (especially Mrs. Staples), and at Newberry Library (especially Mrs. Amy Nyholm). I am very grateful to the Graduate School of Louisiana State University for a Graduate Fellowship in the summer of 1967 for research travel. Of the many teachers at Louisiana State University who have helped me, I wish to thank most especially my major professor and dissertation advisor, Burl Noggle.

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Mrs. Louise Rouse, to my wife, Jacqueline, and to my sons, Bryant and Mark, whose love has sustained me.

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ABSTRACT

This study presents the initial portion of a projected intellectual history of Francis Hackett (1883-1962) from his childhood until 1914 when he joined the New Republic. I have concentrated primarily upon Francis Hackett's autobiographical writings, available portions of his correspondence, and his various pieces in the Friday Literary Review (1909-1911), a literary supplement of the Chicago Evening Post, and also the manuscripts and recollections of his friends and associates.

This dissertation suggests the important part Hackett played in breaking ground for the famed "Chicago Renaissance" of 1909-1915, and especially his role as a transmitter of the new social, literary, philosophic, economic, and political thought which began the cultural revolution of the twentieth century. This study supports Henry May's thesis that this revolution began before rather than after World War I. Using Hackett's role as a transmitter of the thought of European, British, and American writers, and especially the ideas and sympathies of Jane Addams, William James, and Sigmund Freud, this dissertation lends substance to the view that Progressive thought and motivation was a rich and varied complex and not merely the result of a status movement or the victory of efficient conservatism.

The study also suggests that examinations of modern journalistic literary critics are of particular value to intellectual historians concerned with the transmission and assimilation of ideas.

Maturing in a fervently Parnellite home in Kilkenny, Ireland, Francis Hackett attended the Jesuit Clongowes Wood College. In Ireland he learned to resent the English and all privileged aristocracies, to sympathize with the poor, to suspect established institutions and established culture of tyranny, and to recognize that value and beauty existed where one found them, not where they were supposed to be.

In 1901, arriving in America in steerage aboard the Lugitania, Hackett suffered the shock of immigration. He was only one of the many intellectual immigrants who would contribute much to American culture in the twentieth century. Homesick and excited, he groped his way through various low employments from 1901 to 1906. His experiences as a clerk and as a cub-reporter led to a series of articles critical of American life. He then landed a job at the Chicago Evening Post and began a very important year of residence at Hull House. Jane Addams, among others, helped Hackett to transcend the simpler moral exhortation of muckraker journalism and to call for a reorientation of the use of society's powers toward community values rather than the purposes of competitive commercialism. He denied that the world progressed automatically, rejected racism

and inferior status for women, Negroes, or immigrants, attacked materialism, classical economics, and conservative Social Darwinism, and maintained that culture, truth, and the individual pursuit of happiness were plural and contingent.

Hackett made the Friday Literary Review a magazine of national repute in which he advanced all the major writers and most of the ideas that vitally influenced not only the Chicago Liberation but also the later (1914-1917) New York phase of the Rebellion. In his Friday Literary Review the ideas and the "new spirit" of this pre-war intellectual rebellion first emerged in sustained form. In 1914 Hackett had so impressed the founders of the New Republic that he was called from his father's deathbed in Kilkenny to become the founding literary editor of that influential journal.

CHAPTER I

ONE OF A CONQUERED PEOPLE

There once were two cats of Kilkenny
Each thought there was one cat too many;
So they fought and they fit,
And they scratched and they bit,
Till, excepting their nails
And the tips of their tails
Instead of two cats, there weren't any.

The poet Padraic Colum journeyed from Kildare to Waterford. He crossed the bridge in Waterford, entered County Kilkenny and sped through its tiny market villages. Colum was thrilled to be in the ancient Celtic kingdom of Ossory where the "cycles of stories and poetry that spread all through Ireland and Gothic Scotland had their rise...." The antique round tower of Celtic Saint Canice's Cathedral stood tall and thin, beyond the hedgerows and the fields. Colum entered the quiet, cobbled streets of city Kilkenny.¹ In 1883, long decades before his Irish friend rode into the city, Francis Hackett was born in Kilkenny, "on soil so

¹Padraic Colum, Cross Roads in Ireland (New York: Macmillan, 1930), 257-260. This is the country of the "three sisters," the river basins of the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow. T. W. Freeman, Ireland: Its Physical, Historical and Economic Geography (New York: Dutton, 1950), 336, 314ff, describes the geological and surface features of the thinly populated hills and lowlands.

provocative that even the oats have an eternal place in the folklore."²

Kilkenny

In his father's house, Francis learned much of the history of his town and of Ireland; he learned of his deep, luxuriant, and bitter Irish roots. Long ago, Strongbow had erected a mote fortress on the ground brought him by the marriage bed. William, Earl of Pembroke, wed Strongbow's daughter and raised the first Castle Kilkenny. Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, and, later, Hugh le Spencer acquired the area. The Norman Butlers bought the property in 1391, and the castle remained the Butler family seat for many centuries. The Kilkenny Parliament of 1367 had issued the infamous Statute of Kilkenny which declared the wedding of an Irish woman by an Englishman, a crime punishable by death. A rebel or Catholic Parliament there assembled in 1642. Oliver Cromwell's army sieged and captured the city

²Alvin Johnson, Pioneer's Progress: An Autobiography (Bison reprint, Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), 234. Celtic St. Cannech (517 A.D.-600) gave his name to Kil (church) kenny (Cainnech), P. W. Joyce, Irish Names of Places (Dublin: Phoenix, n.d. [c.1869]). Edward MacLysaght, A Guide to Irish Surnames (Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Book Co., 1964), p.104, says (under the entry for "HACKETT, Haicoid"): "Families of this name have been in Ireland since the Anglo-Norman invasion, mainly in Kilkenny and Kildare." Colum probably first heard of Francis Hackett in America when Francis gained a national reputation from 1909 to 1911 as the editor of the Friday Literary Review. In 1915, when they met, he and Francis had "a little bout" because Francis had "turned his back on Ireland" and was critical of Ireland. But when "the insurrection of 1916 revived the national spirit in Francis" he and Colum became friends. Colum to author, January 12, 1968. Colum had known one of Francis' brothers in Ireland. Colum to author, October 14, 1967.

in 1650. Thomas Dineley, in 1680, said that the city had been virtually depopulated by Cromwell. Although the city had suffered greatly, the Dukes of Ormonde (Butlers), having married the Boleyns, protected Kilkenny of the Steeples and brought some order and security out of Cromwell's devastation.³

In the eighteenth century the city's active social life sustained a theater, and Kilkenny survived commercially by manufacturing woolens. The Ormondes remodeled their castle on the river Nore in the early nineteenth century, building upon the old marbled castle which had once been finer than many Italian palaces.⁴

Nineteenth-century visitors to Kilkenny discovered two cities, one rich and cultured, the other poor and crude. One American lady, seeking to understand the misery of New York's Irish emigrants, attended the 1844 Fair of Kilkenny. The men and women wore their customary rough, blue clothes and lived in ancient stone or mud-walled cabins crowned with thatch. Peat fires warmed their homes. They sat on old stools and cooked in pots of ancient origin. She decided

³C. S. Ward, Ireland; East, West and South (6th ed. "Braddelley's Thorough Guide Series", Vol. II; London: Thomas Nelson, 1911), 58, 48; Harold G. Leask, Irish Castles and Castellated Houses (2nd ed., rev.; Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1951), 53; Francis S. Walker and Frank Mathew, Ireland (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1905), 73-74; Colum, Cross Roads, 266ff; Constantia Maxwell, The Stranger in Ireland: From the Reign of Elizabeth to the Great Famine (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), 103, quotes Thomas Dineley's "Journal" of 1680.

⁴Maxwell, Stranger to Ireland, 103, 132; on page 99 Maxwell, commenting on the old castle, cites M. Jorevin de Rocheford's Le Voyageur D'Europe (1672).

that their poverty would someday create an explosion.⁵ In contrast, Sir John Carr in 1805 had described Castle, not cottage Kilkenny. The Kilkenny he saw was filled with refined people, elegant carriages, the bustling attendance of the genteel at Kilkenny's theater, races, balls and concerts. There he witnessed a superior performance of Henry IV, played by male local gentry and female professionals from Dublin.⁶

A German traveler found Kilkenny filled with people for the 1842 races. Men played music, bagpipes, violins, flutes, "'and ragged Paddies'" danced in the streets. Ballad singers hustled printed copies of their wares. The next day, three miles from town, he watched the races from the top of a hired coach. The gentry remained in their carriages, while the people crowded a grandstand. The poor put up tents, drank ale and danced. Tattered beggars sang songs for sale and tried to look merry. There were traveling shows of all sorts, wild beasts, puppet shows. The next morning, in the dim hours before dawn, the German's "diligence car" was surrounded by beggars, both men and women,

⁵Ibid., 212. The American quoted by Maxwell is Asenath Nicholson. In 1847 she wrote Ireland's Welcome to the Stranger: or Excursions through Ireland in 1844 and 1845, which was edited by A. T. Sheppard in 1926 under the title of The Bible in Ireland.

⁶Maxwell, Stranger in Ireland, 232-233. The vast difference between the possessions of poor and prosperous Kilkenny are more obvious when, later in this chapter, we visit the interior of Ormonde Castle.

recounting their sufferings like barkers, delaying his departure for Waterford.⁷

Nineteenth-century Kilkenny became a market town of great importance. The brewery and woollens manufacture prospered. In 1852 a railway line connected Kilkenny to Dublin via Kildare, and by 1863 a line joined Kilkenny to Waterford. But during the century Kilkenny trade and industry reached its peak and the population declined. In 1946 County Kilkenny still held the fairly high proportion of eighty-seven percent improved land enjoyed by the countryside for more than a century. Although the town ceased to grow, by 1946 Kilkenny had added shoes, bacon and furniture to its manufactures.

Kilkenny remains the sole large market center for the county. Waterford, to the South, is the regional capital

⁷Ibid., 283-284. On these pages Maxwell quotes the account of Johann Georg Kohl. This enthusiasm for racing did not diminish when men and women left the town or the county. One Irish emigrant in New York sent two pounds for a County Kilkenny race track. This led the Kilkenny Journal (August 14, 1861) to plea for similar generosity from other devotees. This is cited in Arnold Schrier, Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), 192, n. 38. Sean O'Faolain once told of an Irish school teacher from Kilkenny. Accustomed to school holidays for local races, she ran off to the horses after dismissing her classes. The headmistress was completely surprised. O'Faolain is quoted in G. Cooper and E. Weltsman, Your Holiday in Ireland (New York: Medill McBride, 1948), 97-98. Kilkenny was also a 'spa' in the nineteenth century, according to Alexander Knox's cryptically entitled, The Irish Watering Places, Their Climate, Scenery, and Accommodations; including Analysis of the Principal Mineral Springs by Dr. H. Kane, and Remarks on the Various Forms of Disease to Which they are Adapted; together with Directions for the Regimens of Invalids, and Observations on Indigestion, Gout, Pulmonary Consumption, and Other Diseases of the Chest, Stomach, and Nervous System (Dublin: William Curry, 1845), 254.

and main port. Waterford's population grew from 26,200 in 1891 to only 28,300 by 1946. City Kilkenny's population declined from 19,100 in 1841, to 11,000 in 1891, to 10,200 in 1936, and rose slightly to 10,300 in 1946. Consequently the region's largest interior towns, Kilkenny and the smaller Clonmel, partially industrialized markets serving the undulating, steam-sliced Suir-Nore lowlands, are but country villages in a land of medium-sized farms. Three-fourths of the population are engaged in farming. While the Irish population declined in mid-century by a mere twelve percent, emigration depleted the county population of Kilkenny by twenty percent.⁸

Despite the city's rich and matted past, the stabilization of its economic life was reflected by 1900 in its static culture. It was, said Colum, "a medieval city become an Irish market-town," and, on the merits of its past, remained the "most distinctive of Irish cities." It "should have been a university town." There, in a college financed by the Ormondes, Swift, Congreve and Berkely had once studied.⁹ The career of Standish O'Grady suggests Kilkenny's cultural decline.

⁸Freeman, Ireland, 92-95, 220, 246, 314, 317, 320-322, 336-337, 125; Kilkenny's marble quarry has long produced a greyish crystalline limestone which polishes to a deep blue and black. The blue stone was widely used for building and paving.

⁹Colum, Cross Roads, 260, 274-275. Kilkenny had also been the stronghold of Catholic secondary education in Ireland in the seventeenth century, according to T. Corcoran, S. J., The Clongowes Record: 1814-1932 (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1932), 22ff.

Standish O'Grady inspired the famed Irish Renaissance when he published a play, AE's 'Deirdre' (1907), in his The All Ireland Review.¹⁰ O'Grady, after editing the Dublin Daily Express for several years, had resigned in 1898 to edit the Kilkenny Moderator. The Christmas issue of the latter in that same year contained contributions by William Butler Yeats, AE (George W. Russell), and T. W. Rolleston. In 1900 O'Grady founded in Kilkenny The All Ireland Review which later became a famed Dublin weekly.¹¹ Around the year 1900, O'Grady declared the Irish literary movement in effect, but predicted that it would be followed by a more important political movement. During the 1890's, meanwhile, O'Grady, "the ideological father of the literary movement," had called for an activist, responsible aristocracy. Politically dramatized by Charles Parnell, this theme entered the work of William Butler Yeats.¹² O'Grady had set in motion the famed "Irish Renaissance" at almost precisely the moment

¹⁰ Colum, Cross Roads, 274-275.

¹¹ O'Grady later became an advocate of Guild Socialism, and wrote for A. R. Orage's New Age. Alan Denson, ed. Letters from AE (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1961), 262. It is interesting that The Kilkenny Magazine, edited by James Delahanty, is today subtitled "An All Ireland Literary Review."

¹² Herbert Howarth, The Irish Writers, 1880-1940: Literature Under Parnell's Star (London: Hockliff, 1958), 127, 153-154, 290. John Eglinton, A Memoir of AE: George William Russell (London: Macmillan, 1937), 105, called O'Grady the "actual father of the Literary movement." Ireland, culturally dominated by foreign literature, had borrowed from: England, France, America (Emerson and Whitman), Germany, Denmark (Grundtvig), Norway (Ibsen), and Russia in that order by degree of cultural colonization. Howarth discusses this.

young Francis Hackett, Parnellite and cultural nationalist, despairing of an Irish cultural and political liberation, sailed to America to find a career. The National Theatre Society produced the first plays of Synge and Colum two years after Hackett arrived in New York. Francis Hackett later served that Renaissance well by praising and propagandizing AE, Yeats and John M. Synge in America.¹³ O'Grady, significantly, lived briefly in Kilkenny, but hurried his parentage and his prodigies on to Dublin.

Francis Hackett left Kilkenny because he thought the ancient city had politically, economically and culturally atrophied. He was born an innocent, physically "myopic, astigmatic, fatty, apprehensive bundle of human expectancy. Out of precisely the same family environment were produced Capt. B. J. Hackett, M. C., a Tory...and the Rev. W. P. Hackett, S.J., a Jesuit priest who [gave] Retreats to edify the Prohibitionists." Francis, about to leave Ireland at eighteen, had grown to hate the absolutes his brothers Bat

¹³Padraic Colum, "A Note on P. K.," The Kilkenny Magazine, II (No. 7, Summer, 1962), 47-48; Padraic Colum, The Road Round Ireland (New York: Macmillan, 1926), 306. Thomas MacDonagh began The Irish Review in 1911 with Professor Houston and James Stephens. He had served his apprenticeship as "a teacher in Kilkenny," and he wrote his books of literary verse in 1900 and 1901, but he too carried his talents to Dublin and later published Songs of Myself and Lyrical Poems. MacDonagh became an Irish playwright and a leader of the Irish Revolution, Colum, Road Round Ireland, 459-461. Van Wyck Brooks pointed out in Letters and Leadership (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918), 90, that MacDonagh understood well the failure of Irish literary criticism to appreciate initially Ireland's own national literary renaissance.

and Willie believed in. The mature Francis preferred a world of "hit and miss." He was later thrilled, this product of Catholic Ireland, the brother of a Jesuit priest, when he contemplated a church in Copenhagen that had become a public library. He had shared with his five brothers their Kilkenny and Clongowes Wood College educations and experiences, but Francis' response to even his childhood years was individual and critical. At eighteen Francis hated the British empire and Catholic authority.¹⁴ Francis outstripped his talented brothers and sisters. His first eighteen years are pages in the running story of particular personalities maturing within specific circumstances.

Francis' grandfathers, Philip and Bartholomew, were quite different men. One was a farmer, but the other, his paternal grandfather, was interested in Irish folklore and his letters were deposited in the Royal Irish Academy.¹⁵ Grandfather Hackett had come from Middleton, Co. Cork, married a girl in Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny, and sired John Byrne Hackett, Francis' father. John Hackett studied medicine and worked for brief periods at Bayswell, Tullaroan and Ballyragget. Then Dr. Hackett received dispensary and workhouse hospital appointments in city Kilkenny. He was

¹⁴Perhaps it is the adult, perhaps the boy, who early sensed a demagogue in the patent medicine salesman named Sequah who pulled teeth, and who recognized gauche taste in a local selection of a piano. Francis remembered these reactions in I Chose Denmark (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1940), 5, 78, 85, 121, 130-131.

¹⁵Hackett, Denmark, p. 255; Francis Hackett, The Green Lion (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1936), 35.

also second surgeon and medical officer to the Urban District Council, and coroner.

One summer evening, Dr. Hackett met a young girl, the daughter of a prosperous farmer of Liss, Tullaroan, Co. Kilkenny. Her family had been farmers on that Kilkenny hill for centuries.¹⁶ John Hackett married the tall, bright, young woman, Bridget Doheny, and they moved into their home at No. 34 Patrick Street, Kilkenny.

Dr. Hackett practiced medicine and maintained his interest in hunting and cricket, snipe and partridge. His family grew into a noisy household nurtured by the patient Bridget.¹⁷ The six boys, William, Jack, Bat, Don, Byrne, and Frank, and the three girls, Kathleen, Frances and Florence, became the spirited maulers of Patrick Street. Two spinsters living on this street were loudly playing piano duets one day as was their custom, but custom was rudely shattered by the storm of valueless foreign coins and old buttons hurled through the window in lieu of applause for the "Zampa" overture. Mocking laughter trailed behind "the Hackett boys" as they clattered away.¹⁸

¹⁶James Delehanty, "The Cruellest Month: In Memoriam Florence Hackett (1884-1963)," The Kilkenny Magazine, No.10 (Autumn/Winter, 1963), 35-53, p. 35; Hackett, Denmark, 69.

¹⁷Hackett, Denmark, 256.

¹⁸Delehanty, "Cruellest Month," 36. Zampa, or The Marble Betrothed is an opera written by Hérold, libretto by A.H.J. Mésleville, and first staged in Paris in 1831. A marble statue pulls the pirate Zampa down to his death. This is the general Don Juan theme given operatic vehicle by Mozart's Don Giovanni. Arthur Jacobs, A New Dictionary of Music (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1958).

The exuberant Hacketts, more seriously because they were serious about their politics, also tormented the lace-collared heir of an anti-Parnellite as he rode up the Parade on his large German shepherd. His canine steed plodded amiably along while the Hacketts jeered. Lace-collar angrily yelled "Kitty O'Shea," which he knew would enrage them, but he didn't know why. Not to be outdone, the Hackett girls were also social activists. One High Street merchant later recalled that somehow he had so enraged one of the Hackett girls that she proved his error by scratching his face.¹⁹

Fortunately, Francis Hackett has granted posterity a very detailed description of the interior of No. 34 Patrick Street.²⁰ The Hackett house stood at the foot of a wide and

¹⁹Delehanty, "Cruellest Month," 36.

²⁰This description, as with much of the following material on other matters in this chapter, is found in his intensely autobiographical novel, The Green Lion. James Delehanty to author, May 3, 1967, told me that from reading this novel one acquired a "very good picture" of Francis Hackett's boyhood, "and the things that influenced him as well as a remarkable evocation of what life in Kilkenny was like in the eighties and nineties of the last century." He added, in his letter to me on May 20, 1967, that "The Green Lion...is largely autobiographical; Jerry is very much Francis. Most, if indeed not all, of the characters are based on real people," some of whom Mr. Delehanty could identify. Mr. Delehanty, an acquaintance of Francis Hackett, and a close friend to Florence Hackett for decades, said that the novel corresponded in particulars to Francis' childhood and young adult years. Francis' description of Humphrey Laracy's house in Patrick Street "is very much his father's house, down to the smallest detail." Editor [Delehanty], "The Green Lion: In Memoriam Francis Hackett (1883-1962)," Kilkenny Magazine, No. 7 (Summer, 1962), 49-53, p. 50. Francis Hackett did, however, omit any account of his brothers and sisters from the novel. There are exact correlations between the novel's story and Francis' non-fiction autobiographical writings, especially

and respectable sloping street occupied by a few genteel shops and the homes of professional men. The Hibernian Bank now stands in its place.²¹ There was a small, untidy garden in front of the house beneath the dining-room window. The crowded, green-walled dining-room had a low ceiling. "Bituminous" paintings and broad matted water colors hung on the walls of the somewhat "shabby" room. In this pleasantly well-used room, books were everywhere, spilling over from the shelves, open books, books ready and read. A worn,

I Chose Denmark. These help to separate the fictive from the actual in the novel.

Why dwell on the sights and experiences of Francis' childhood? Many of the characteristics of humankind were shaped in the unrecorded eons of the specie's childhood, but they are no less important than the expressions of Herodotus. That pre-record experience is no less vital because it failed to publish. So it is with a man's life, of course. We seek in this essay the origins, the changing shapes, the conditions and effects of a man's emotional and intellectual life, but, as with most men, the first twenty years of his life are the least accessible to the historian. The historian may profitably use his own recollection of the desires, pains and pleasures of childhood. In this he might even better capture the essence of the subject's childhood than the subject himself did in adult recollection. An adult's account of his own childhood often ignores as trivia what was trivial but also momentous to the child who fathered the man. Autobiographies are often too placid or too troubled; they either picture the sensitive young plant in a hostile holocaust or they level the peaks of experience to mere dull steppes, or, altering the metaphor, quiet the earthquakes of childhood until they become still, barren ground. Much can be said for the fictive autobiography, such as Hackett's, in which the novelist relives the physical, emotional and intellectual details of his town, his schools, his life, and the people who furnished that enormous room. Such a novel is an invaluable source to be used with much care, for the man is more than the child matured, particularly if his labors and amusements were always self-searchingly intellectual.

²¹Hackett, The Green Lion, 14-15; Deleahanty, "Cruelest Month," 36.

deep chair was there to read in, joined before the fire by Mrs. Hackett's more rigid armchair. A Brussels carpet lay on the floor and Nottingham lace curtains draped the windows. A mahogany table stood in the room. A mahogany sideboard displayed large silver dishes, a Sheffield plate tray, tea and coffee pots, and coasters. A small, sturdy mahogany chair and a decanter of whiskey were in the room.²² The silver tray and the carpet became symbolic of a tension within his family that young Frank hated.²³ But for years they were to him only the decorations of experience, items to examine, not resent.

It was a "rambling house," busy with the comings and goings of many people, the large family and many visitors. Frank slept in an iron bed in an upstairs room overlooking the back yard. The sombre room, papered with yellow flowers and dark green leaves, contained yellow pine furniture on broad, unpainted floor boards. There was a little rot here and there. His bed, near the door, rested beneath a multi-colored picture of the Sacred Heart, and he slept on a lumpy old hair mattress. The door banged a bit at night for the lock had been replaced by a poker-burned hole. At night he lay there, holding his doll, carefully avoiding the hot clay jar at his cold feet. He ventured to the kitchen

²²Hackett, The Green Lion, 14-17, 19.

²³Hackett, Denmark, 256.

at times, walking on the cold, black flagstones, eyeing the range, the dark pantry and the dark scullery.²⁴

Frank sometimes visited his mother's former home in Tullaroan.²⁵ In one bedroom he saw a big oak bed, large yellow candles, and heard the door rattle when the wind blew. A loft above the white beams of the ceiling served as another bedroom. A bright coal fire burned in winter in the kitchen, the living part of the house. There the Dohenys heated feed for the calves and the pigs, while overhead slabs of bacon hung from the beams. At meal time the kitchen table folded down from the wall and Frank sat on an unpainted wooden bench to eat. There were mice at night, scurrying about; there were the sounds of cats and dogs in the day, a finch, the lid tapping on the kettle, and the pecking of chickens, the sounds of the rosary, stories, a concertina. The other rooms, a parlor, and the big parlor, the bedroom and the loft were all chilly even in summer. The flagged, hearthed kitchen was a cheery, worn room. Delf, pewter, a pitcher, were on the dresser, and a clock ticked on the wall. Knives with horn handles and spoons of pewter and big mugs for tea appeared at mealtime. Outside, Frank found lots of grass, the stable and the horse

²⁴Hackett, The Green Lion, 38, 23-25, 39. I do not know if the novel's hired help either in the Hackett or Doheny homes had actual counterparts. It is likely in both cases.

²⁵This is "Uncle Matt's" Corduff farm house in The Green Lion, Delehanty, "The Green Lion: In Memoriam," 50.

cart. He looked on the plateau broken by banks and high hedges, on farms and woods, and the blue, low hills.²⁶

Tullaroan provided a different experience for Frank. He listened to a rural dialect unlike the anglicized Kilkenny diction and the Kilkenny words. He leaned on the ash tree, looked over the out oat field, and in later years he climbed into the iron shed and read atop the fresh hay. In the yard were hens, pigeons, geese and turkeys. Nearby were crabapples to eat, a creek to splash in, a flagged dairy to cool off in, and a pump to drink from. He read in the kitchen on wet days. Other days he helped in the fields, fed the chickens, helped churn, or watched the men flail grain on the barn's stone floor. When he was older he was taken to country dances and heard old music. It was a rougher life in Tullaroan; the farm yard was muddy, harnesses ready for work hung in the shed; the hired workers were rough-clothed, rough-speeched, uneducated. They laughed but they were troubled folk. He himself was sometimes eager for the brighter reading light at No. 34 Patrick Street.²⁷ When he returned to Kilkenny, he eagerly looked for the city nestled in the curve of the round valley, for the old, weathered Cathedral and the round tower, all far down the ambling road that ran between hedgerows of thorn and holly, beside an orchard and into the walls of the city.

²⁶Hackett, The Green Lion, 1-7.

²⁷Ibid., 125-127, 138-139. Francis' concern for rural education is manifest in much of his writings, but permeates I Chose Denmark.

Frank Hackett, about seven years old, began to discover the life and the shape, to take possession of city Kilkenny. He first observed the city from the window in the dining room. He saw a clock in the jeweler's window on the left. Across the street men leaned against the bank wall, flapped their sides for warmth, talked and spat, or grabbed naps in the sun. Up the Parade, he could see carts of hay or coal going to the market place. He heard the Kilkenny bells, the insistent, mid-morning mass bell at the Friary, the rowdy bell of Town Hall, the castle's irregular bell. He listened to the cry of the castle peacocks anticipating rain. Kilkenny people were often in his house. On Sundays, Frank was taken up Patrick Street with a book, the Key of Heaven, carried but to him unreadable, crammed here and there with prayers warranting indulgences.²⁸

Frank's immersion in the life of Kilkenny greatly advanced when he reached the age of errands. Sent on an errand down Rose Inn Street and over old John's Bridge, Frank stopped to absorb the lulling sound of the river Nore falling over the weir, "the first inner presence he felt in the city." He pondered the fact of a river, this river, Nore. Swift brown spotted with white stuff, the Nore ran under the bridge and rushed around a curve beneath the

²⁸Hackett, The Green Lion, 45-46. Francis was surely helped in childhood discoveries by his older brothers, but they are not present in the novel as such. Perhaps their rowdier moods are evident in the Protestant Lightfoot children of the novel (101-103), and their help may be represented by the occasional tutelage Sean Gernon gives Jerry in the novel.

Castle. The river scared him and thrilled him. The Castle did not thrill him until the night he saw its old stones and towers in the moonlight. In day, his eyes greedily fed on the quaintly designed glass face on the clock in the white, wooden tower of Town Hall. Beneath the tower in the high-pillared market open on three sides, he leaned against a black marble pillar and watched large-eyed the bustling scene. But the interesting, darker passages of the Hall frightened him, not because the rough boys played tops nearby, but because of the "prowling creatures." There was a man in greasy green clothes once black who wet his large red underlip as he shuffled about winding and unwinding a dirty piece of string. There was a man with a beard, and a dwarf who sold apples and tried to show Frank her game leg. Later he could halloo them, but now the town characters made him scurry across the street. He learned the physical town on his grocery errands, running down the street reciting the names of the things his mother wanted, until breathlessly he tumbled into the store and expelled a humorously jumbled cluster of words at the grocer. Nervous but exhilarated he watched Kilkenny in a storm when the town was wild, the windows and shop doors shut, while signs banged loudly in the wind. He was happy in his discoveries.²⁹

²⁹Ibid., 45-49. As a small boy in a small town he must have been attracted to the spectacle of the transient population at the hotels. In the center of town he could visit the hotels Club House, Victoria, The Imperial, all westward from the Railway Station. The Post Office, another likely place for youthful congregation, was in High Street. See Ward, Ireland, p. 58, for the town's establishments in 1911.

Time, time in great recorded ages, was one of his first discoveries. He learned that Kilkenny was an ancient city, a city even before Columbus' ships sought the sinking sun. People he met lived in Norman houses. He knew the Round Tower had stood for an awfully long time, over a thousand years. The beautiful cathedral beside the Tower held the tombs of men who had marched on the Crusades. He learned that a route diagonal from the St. Canice's Cathedral to the castle ran through "old town," the humble street that had once been the ghetto of the natives, Irish-town, and that it led into the heart of the old English borough, through large market areas to the Nore, past the courthouse and Town Hall. He learned later to identify abbey ruins dating before Charles II, the Elizabethan fronts of merchant baronies, and the ancient city wall that could yet be climbed and walked upon near the club garden. The ancient gateway still stood across the head of the street.³⁰

³⁰This material is found in the first chapters of The Green Lion. Hackett's friend, Frank O'Connor, in Leinster, Munster and Connaught (Bedford Square: Robert Hale, 1950), 107-109, admired the walk down High Street from the Cathedral to the Castle and to the Town Hall and its high wooden tower. He also praised the only Tudor houses he knew in existence in Ireland, the "scraps of medieval work" in the lanes off High Street, the church ruins, the old inns and almshouses. Outside the walls O'Connor found the old Georgian section where the Kilkenny theater once flourished. Like Colum, he thought Kilkenny should have been a university town. "Even its hotels and pubs contain old prints, old cartoons, little museum pieces of pottery and glass, such as you will find nowhere else in Ireland." Nowhere else in Ireland, he thought, was there "that background from which civilized life could emerge." O'Connor's Leinster includes two good pictures of Kilkenny Cathedral, pp. 81, 96. "Kilkenny," Colum said, "remains the most distinctive of Irish cities; here and there in its streets

His walks brought him face to face with ancient history. Although the city spilled over both sides of the Nore now, the castle's influence was still present. Each side of the castle had rewarding walks. He walked down one by the river, past the old bridge and he saw the girls minding babies in the morning. Only later did he learn that they came back at dusk with their soldier friends. There was an old mill at the end of the arboured walk, then the open countryside, the green banks of a canal that went nowhere at all, nut-treed hillocks, wheat fields, deserted pastures and woods, the St. Flaccus Sanctuary. On the Parade, in town again, Frank found a playhouse dating from its flourishing nights in the days of Grattan. Kilkenny College was across the Nore; he was thrilled to share the town's pride in the education of Swift, Berkeley and Congreve.³¹ Young Frank's walks constantly brought him into contact not only with ancient history but most frequently

one comes upon houses with coats-of-arms carved outside and family mottoes in French....it is a place for an etcher to work." Colum, Cross Roads, 260.

³¹Knox, Irish Watering Places, 256. "The Kilkenny College spa'...was at one time greatly frequented, till it was unfortunately discovered that it was merely the water of a tan yard, at which its votaries, especially the ladies, became outrageous, and it fell into total neglect...." O'Connor said that Kilkenny, its "sensual hills, its trees, its river valleys and the blue mist that rises from them, its absence of furze, is the loveliest of Irish counties. It is still thirteenth-century country which you can imagine as the setting for the Canterbury Tales." The city was at times still "ravishing," especially if one walked along the bank of the Nore on a blue, misty Sunday morning, listening to the chimes of the Cathedral, and admiring the towers and ruins and tombs. O'Connor, Leinster, 103-106.

with the establishments of the Catholic Church, many of them housed in ancient church buildings.

The Bishop's domain lay near the town. Francis also found Saint John of God's, St. Patrick's seminary, the establishments for four orders of nuns, the St. Joseph orphanage, the buildings housing the clerical brothers, the parish churches, cathedrals, other churches, schools, laundries, seminaries, hospitals and even the clubs of the Roman Catholic Church. There was the beautiful old Cathedral and the new, fake-Gothic Cathedral, an architectural abortion matched only by the Turkish bath topped by a minaret.³² One of the first lessons he learned about the town was that it was an old Catholic city. The buildings of the Church were among his first tutors in art and architecture, just as their occupants first taught him religious and secular subjects.

When Frank wandered from the Market Place down High Street and onto Parliament Street (Irishtown), he encountered Rothe House (the Bishop's house). He might walk up Canice's lane, up to the arch, the steps, the carved wall. There the key lay and St. Canice's Cathedral was easily entered.

Francis looked upon the choir part of the Cathedral and perhaps learned that it dated back to 1200. The South porch has stones from the twelfth-century Celtic Church, and the rest was built in the thirteenth century. He entered

³²Hackett, The Green Lion, 41-45.

the beautiful Southern door and looked down the over two-hundred foot view. He found a tomb dated 1281, and the tombs of Jacob Scorthais, armorer, 1507, and of John de Pontu. Perhaps Francis' breath was taken away by the beautiful "groined" roof of the Central Tower. He admired the graceful windows of the Sacristy, and the Gospel windows of Munich glass on the Eastern side. These were rare things, but the floor was familiar, for it was made from Kilkenny marble. North of the choir, Frank found the tomb of Bishop de Ledrede (c.1332), and in the North Transept was the chair of St. Kiernan. The Parish chapel commemorated Lieutenant Hamilton, massacred in 1879 by the Afghans. In the South Transept he found a monument to the Marquis of Ormonde who died of apoplexy when he bathed in 1854. Other Ormonde tombs and tablets were scattered about. He looked on the windows installed for Bishop O'Brien who had died only in 1879 and was the author of "Justification," whatever that was. The robing room contained the tomb of David, Bishop of Ossory, 1642.³³ St. Canice's gray stone walls brightened and darkened depending on what the clouds did to the light coming through the window above the altar. Perhaps Francis paused to look at the ninth earl of Ormonde, James Butler, 1546, who is carved with his feet on an otter, because an otter's bite killed him.³⁴ The Cathedral's exterior is of limestone rubble dressed with limestone and sandstone, and

³³Ward, Ireland, 54, 58-60.

³⁴Colum, Cross Roads, 259.

its broad buttresses make it quite impressive. But Francis probably preferred the smaller, familiar Black Abbey.³⁵

³⁵Harold G. Leask, Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings: Volume II; Gothic Architecture to A.D. 1400 (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1958), provides the best descriptions and brief histories of the churches familiar to Francis Hackett. As a child, Francis may have learned much of the history now found in books by Leask, Hackett himself, and other historians of Ireland. In 1250 the building of churches and monasteries in Ireland greatly increased on the rising tide of Anglo-Norman power. Hugh de Mapilton (1251-1256) and Geoffrey St. Leger completed "a very important work, the Cathedral of St. Canice." St. Canice was less altered than the Dublin cathedrals, and it "strikes a very happy compromise in its serene beauty and coherence of design." It contains a large, many-windowed Lady Chapel of the thirteenth-century. "The Lady Chapel...was perhaps the best-lighted erection in medieval Ireland." The thirteenth-century tower of St. Canice's now has a "vault over the crossing where is now Bishop Hackett's--fifteenth century--star vault." Leask, Churches, II, 105-108. I have completely omitted the technical descriptions that fill Leask's pages.

Leask also admired the "variety of design and elaboration" of the Black Abbey, the Dominican church in Kilkenny. The very large south windows fill most of a gabled wall. "The Kilkenny transept with its south window was probably the last major work of the half-century before the plague came." The Black Death devastated the city in 1349. James Shortall of Ballylarkin built the Abbey's excellent tower in the 1500's. "Its subtly battered walls are topped by four pinnacled turrets in the stepped-battlement tradition: the most satisfying, architecturally, of all the tower tops in Ireland." (p. 54). Leask praised too the large window in the east end of the Augustinian priory of St. John the Evangelist, the choir portion of which dated from shortly after 1220. He liked the "Lady Chapel" (c.1280), now the Protestant Church, once called the "Lantern of Ireland" for its windows (pp. 106, 108-110). He did not like the "modernized" St. Mary's Church (c.1200s). Leask includes many fine sketches and photographs of the churches that the young Francis Hackett saw daily: the tower of the Black Abbey (Pl. Ivb), its large South Window (Pl. XXVa), and that plate provides a large view of the very attractive Abbey resting on a crazy corner of the street. For St. Canice's Leask has: the elaborate west doorway (Pl. XIX), a floor plan (sketch #50), a photograph of the exterior from South and West, showing graves, the tower (also in Pl. XIIIa), shots of the interior from both the northeast and then southeast--a tall ceiled church with three tall windows behind the altar, tastefully simple and unornate with benches of hard wood rail on the floor (Pl. XVIIb), and there are details

The church buildings were not the only solid remnants of the past featured in his daily life. The Norman buildings, tall, secure, became as familiar as the moon. On the wide Parade stood the Castle gates, the chestnut trees black against the castle stones in the moonlight.³⁶ If, when playing at the railway station on the eastern side of town, he suddenly tired of that and thought to visit the castle, he had but to walk westward down a narrow street, across St. John's Bridge, over the Nore to Kilkenny Castle. It was open to the public three days in the week.³⁷ From that direction he would enter by turning left at the Market Place. Although the castle had been rebuilt, the three remaining round towers and two of the walls were truly ancient. It had been twice altered since 1307, first in 1660 and again in the nineteenth century. The mote and one tower were gone by 1890. It is a "four-sided, wedge-shaped castle," widening southward, with towers at its angles. In the hall, past much old Spanish leather, if Francis entered, he climbed the staircase, passing the sixteenth-century tapestry created in Kilkenny by Flemings. At the second level he entered the dining room and faced the great stone

of tombs and decorations (Pl. XVIIIa, Pl. XVIIIb, Pl. XXa). There are also sketches and photographs of features of St. John's and St. Francis' Priary.

³⁶Hackett, The Green Lion, 121-122.

³⁷The Castle was open to the public in 1911 and presumably in the 1890's, Ward, Ireland, 58-59. I am assuming that Francis Hackett entered the Castle.

fireplace built in 1565 carrying the Butler arms. Then he entered the gallery.

In the Castle's gallery Francis could see the portrait of the Marquis of Ormonde who had made armistice with the Confederation, the handsome portrait of Charles the First by Van Dyck, Sir Peter Lely's portraits of Charles the Second and James the Second. There, too, were Murillo's "Saint John," Correggio's "Marriage of St. Catherine," Giordanos, Teniers, and many other paintings, cabinets, busts, and a tableau marble fireplace. Up the stairs he found more tapestries, and, descending to the main floor, he saw the Library, the china in the Ante-room, and the wattle-ceilinged billard-room on the ground floor.³⁸

Errand running had introduced him to what became his Saturday adventures, the familiar adventures that are voluntarily routine. Saturdays, Frank surveyed the grocery stores with their varying tone and different clientele. One served the gentry. One was a florid store. Another was almost a club for the titled, and another was also too select. He did not like the mass-produced goods of the

³⁸Ward, Ireland, 58-59. There was also a signature collection consisting of signatures from English kings succeeding Henry II. Although Ward liked the walks about the town and the religious ruins, he found the "Streets of Kilkenny...old-fashioned and rather grim." See also: Colum, Cross Roads, 274; Leask, Irish Castles, 57. Leask discusses other castles in county Kilkenny, p. 106. This detail on the historical ruins and sights Francis saw constantly in his youth are important not only to our study of the child. Francis Hackett's studies of Henry VIII, Francis I, and Anne Boleyn were surely conditioned by the fact that he grew up within sight of the Butlers' Castle.

modern shop. He preferred the stores that sold old lady's "pennorths" of tea and sugar captured in twisted paper cones. At one shop he charmed the clerk into giving him a raspberry vinegar drink. When business picked up there, he strolled or scurried to the other favored store, a half-mile farther. There, after he had coaxed another raspberry vinegar, he worked his way back to the brewery, at the northeast end of High Street, at the ruins of the Franciscan Friary.³⁹ The brewery had a lemonade store. At night he disliked the dull taste of stirabout supper after a Saturday of glorious raspberry vinegar! He disliked Saturday night because his hair was combed for Sunday morning and, prettied-up, he was open to teasing on Sunday.⁴⁰

On Sunday mornings the Hacketts walked up Abbey Street to mass at the thirteenth-century Black Abbey. They walked on the clean marble sidewalks, past the quiet, shuttered shops while the brass signs and bright paint caught the morning sun. But the scene was begrimed by the people in the rough lanes beyond High Street. There the poor lived their gray lives and did not join the proud Sunday procession. Their Saturday night had been drunken and violent. Noon mass at the Black Abbey did not include the impoverished for it was fashionable and select. The vast-hatted wives of shopkeepers went to the Cathedral, but the professions

³⁹Ward, Ireland, 60.

⁴⁰Hackett, The Green Lion, 51, 54-57, 165-166, 174.

and estated merchants gathered in the dimness of the Black Abbey. Frank sniffed the gloom and incense as he knelt far in the back and strained his weak eyes to focus the bobbling brilliance of the altar. He throbbed with the rich sounds conquering him from the organ loft. His eyes, his emotions, were shocked by the sunlight outside the Abbey when the mass had ended. He was tired and hungry as he trudged home with the family.⁴¹

During the week Kilkenny was a grand display for young Hacketts. Frank watched trains in the railway yard, and, later, he played on them and bought magazines at the station's bookstall. He made purchases at the town's bookstores.⁴² There were special adventures. Other churches besides the Abbey were part of his life, including the white-washed gallery at St. Patrick's. Once a year there were the Christmas cribs to be seen at all the chapels. His father took him to the Poorhouse, a bleak building where sour smells mixed with bitter disinfectant odors and defeated men milled about.⁴³ He found a slum street behind the castle where idle men and busy women littered the streets. Alarmed, he would rush out to the Tennis ground and play about its faded green pavillion and asphalt court. He watched, other times, silent sights--an old gentlemen parading his dog out to St. Patrick's College. Once Frank was pulled toward the

⁴¹Ibid., 58-60.

⁴²Ibid., 71-72, 89, 186-187, 225.

⁴³Ibid., 98-99.

wondrous sound of gypsies playing strange music from East of the Rhine at the castle gates. One day he watched the British troops parade at maneuvers, and, in contrast, on another day he was frightened by the sight of the town imbecile masturbating. The ragged urchins in the poor streets of rough limestone saddened and frightened him. Silently, he studied the Nore, the tiny graveyard at the Fever Hospital, old graves beneath ancient trees. He listened to band music from the barracks. The town was his for adventures--the forge marked by a spoked wheel painted on the house, a manor with a box fence clipped into green bird shapes, the poor mud cabins on the city's fringes, and market day.⁴⁴

On Market Day Kilkenny filled with country people, horsemen, drovers, women, cattle, sheep, donkeys, pony traps, mongrels sniffing with much threading of legs; pubs were noisy and heels and wheels sounded on the cobblestones. At first the forest of legs alarmed him. Parliament Street filled with low carts with red shafts and straw litter, while women hawked their wares, one holding high her hand from which shoe laces dangled. The mud, the urine and dung, the cows, the saloons, the drivers and the farmers, all made the Fair a pungent, noisy place. It was an experience quite unlike his trips to the confectioners.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Ibid., 194, 207, 191-192, 326-327, 6-9.

⁴⁵Ibid., 9-13, 18.

The demands of education soon checked Francois' sweet and sour liberty. Incident as well as instruction educated him. As a child Frank read Freenay the Robber, frightened himself with "creepy stories," and played the other games of childhood. Certain people, particularly an alcoholic uncle who had been in America, alarmed him. As he put his stick-horse days behind him, mankind attracted and alarmed Francois--man at the Fair, the town characters, the people visiting Dr. Hackett. Frank did not know it, but at seven he was already a creature of habit when first he began to discover himself while he discovered the mosaic of Kilkenny and the complexity of adults. He learned from his father that the barrack's soldiers who sang and swan, and the church buildings he had come to know, were, in his father's eyes, the establishments of two alien masters.⁴⁶ Ireland was subject to the empire. Young Frank was subject both in his formal education and in his soul's salvation to the Church.

His parents sent Frank to school with the nuns at the convent. He liked to walk the pleasant few miles to school, but the lessons bored him. He was cramped by the drill of penmanship as he huddled over his slate. He made math, not music, on a frame strung with wires and balls. Perhaps, like the boy Jerry in the Green Lion, he absently chewed on this math vehicle and then peered like a monkey through it when the nun admonished him. In the clean white classrooms

⁴⁶Ibid., 3-6, 23, 41, 45.

his classmates seemed to accomodate themselves more readily to the lessons.

To give him a sense of responsibility as well as a sense of sin, the nuns prepared the daydreaming boy for his first confession. Bad people were burned in hell. But God didn't hurt them, did he? Yes, bad people he did! The drunks he heard in the jail beneath the courthouse, the drunks on the street, his uncle from America, since they were evil, would all be punished by God. Daunted, Frank confessed to a priest at St. Canice's. Discipline he hated, unlike the habits of Saturdays, his rounds at the grocers and the brewery. Perhaps once, when he was bad, he was put in a classroom corner. He fidgeted. He was incarcerated in a gutted piano. Perhaps like Jerry he was advised by a friendly adult to pee in the piano next time. Although he played games with the other children, he was physically clumsy, ill at ease "rowing, jumping, shooting and cycling." After school he ran home around the "curving wall of the Cathedral, under the arch and down the steps, along the winding route of Irishtown..., up Parliament street...and up High Street."⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Ibid., 49-51, 61, 54, 69-70, 89, 103. Francis Hackett recalled, in "The Frivolous French," Atlantic Monthly, CXXXVII (June, 1926), 726, that in the Hackett home, "The rosary..., a garland of Our Fathers and Hail Marys, was said around the oil lamp every evening. Confession...was a weekly, or at least a fortnightly, episode...on Sundays we had Communion and ten-o'clock Mass-and-teaching. Our upbringing was religious, amid throngs of the sincerest Christian Brothers, well-scaped, smiling nuns, lay sisters, lay brothers, sacristans, priests, canons, archdeacons, and the Bishop. The religious element was a large part, perhaps the main part, of our early culture."

When summer and school's vacation finally arrived, he smiled with gratitude for warm June days and frowned at the cool, wet, Atlantic days. If he were good, he thought, God might grant him a good day the next day, a beautiful blue day with white puffy clouds. But beautiful days depressed him when he saw men and boys, towels on their shoulders, biking to Bishop's Meadows, Duke's Meadows or Land's End. Finally, he began his halting attempts to swim at Bishop's Meadows, a flat expanse broken by aspens and oaks and fenced by hawthorne. He played with toy soldiers. Sometimes he was sick. He thrilled at silly, stirring music like "Men of Harlech." Part of the summer he spent at Liss where he read the romantic fiction that stirs boyhood.⁴⁸

The next fall Francis was sent to the Christian Brothers in city Kilkenny for "three-pence a week" to prepare for the Intermediate System.⁴⁹ Questions were fired at the boys by the Christian Brothers and hands were lightly rapped for incorrect replies. It was rote learning again,

⁴⁸Ibid., 104-106, 114-115, 124. He may even have taken piano lessons for a while (p. 146).

⁴⁹Ibid., 118. I cannot now identify Father Stanislaus Ryan in actual life, although he was the most influential of the Brothers on Francis Hackett (p. 147). Delehanty said that "Kilkenny, itself, ye faire oitie, is faithfully remembered [in The Green Lion] as it was in the eighteen-ranties, even to a description of High Street, shop by shop. The people, too, are there, all of them real people, but given names not their own. This name-giving caused Francis Hackett some difficulty, he told me. He wanted to give authentic Kilkenny names to his characters but realized how easy it might be also to give offence unwittingly. This was characteristic of the man." Delehanty, "The Green Lion: In Memoriam," 52.

and Frank hated it. Geography was "singsong" recitation and chafed hands the penalty for false steps. Euclid had no meaning, a tangled trail to be blindly, frustratingly followed. What was it? Euclid, he was told. So? French was better, but it was a rote path through irregular verbs. The Christian Brothers inspired mild trepidation in Francis for five years. At fourteen most Kilkenny boys had finished their education, and the girls were fortunate if they learned nearly so much.⁵⁰ But only part of Francis' early education was in the hands of the Christian Brothers.

Perplexed as he grappled with Catholic education,⁵¹ Francis was greatly influenced by it. By the time he was thirteen he knew that many things were not what they seemed. Some people were frauds. He was a fraud. Francis could have survived more comfortably the "twilight of innocence" if his knowledge of his own nature had not come at the same time that he grew sceptical of adult pretences to wisdom and purity. He discovered that Francis Hackett could be a

⁵⁰After that an Irish boy went to the preparatory grades perhaps, and then, for those who could afford it, a university, but the Irish Catholics had none worthy of the name. Hackett, The Green Lion, 147-150, 154-155.

⁵¹Ibid., 169. Francis Hackett is condemning in this novel the type of education he received. Certainly much of this may be post-Dewey, selective and modified recollection, but in the main Francis' discomfort with the education he describes rings true. He is no kinder to it in any other autobiographical writing that I have seen. It is very close to recollections by other writers who received an Irish Catholic education.

disappointing fellow.⁵² Everyone assumed that he was a good boy, but his dawning sexual desires, an awareness of his body, these were not good in the words of his teachers, the prayer book or sermons. Wicked images of females sometimes swarmed about in his mind. Sex was sinful and sordid. But photographs in the journals, pictures in the newspapers showing a bit of bust or a leg excited him. He dreaded the task of going to confession.⁵³

His hatred of the "squirrel cage of Euclid and desiccated history" increased in his last year of education in Kilkenny. He studied hard for an Exhibition prize, but when vacation came he was not free. His flesh wanted what he knew was wrong, and his loftier dreams of love had no object. This was the last summer before he began studies at Clongowes Wood College. He was fourteen. In the confessional, a slightly bored priest impersonally pardoned Francis for his sexual desires. Francis was too serious not to worry that a momentary sensuality might prevent his salvation. This tension produced a sense of guilt. He was

⁵²Hackett, The Green Lion, 175-176.

⁵³Ibid., 177-179. Francis Hackett wrote this novel in the Freudian, post-World War I literary vein that he had himself helped to establish by his literary criticism (1909-1922). In this fiction, of course, a great premium was placed on the realistic portrayal of the more animalistic forces within man and on a literature that was realistic in matters concerning sex. Perhaps some exaggeration of the tension within the young boy is evident in The Green Lion for this reason and because it did provide an artistic unity to the novel; nevertheless, it rings true.

inadequate before the image of Christ. The desires of the body remained, troubling him, desire fighting resolution. Confession exalted him, but his exultation waned before Communion was finished.⁵⁴ So it was with Francis during the last weeks in which he would truly be a part of Kilkenny, although Kilkenny would forever remain a small part of Francis Hackett. The same Francis would never return to the same Kilkenny, and, eventually, he rejected what had first nourished him, the things there that had first fed his hungry eyes and his striving idealism. A man is shaped by what he rejects as well as by what he accepts. He later threw off the absolutes draped upon the young shoulders of his mind. The adult Francis branded these absolutes as the fetters of mental and emotional tyranny. In the next four years he eventually removed the institutional morality from his tense, divided mind.

In addition to the struggle between Francis' biological desires and his religious training, there was an important tension in Dr. Hackett's home.⁵⁵ Francis' paternal grandfather had early been a man of some estate as well as a student of Irish lore. The wealth had long been lost and John Hackett had become a doctor. Dr. Hackett "went on being a squire," Francis Hackett recalled in I Chose

⁵⁴Ibid., 192-194, 217-218.

⁵⁵This is described in both The Green Lion and in Denmark. The latter also contains much of the story of Francis' religious and educational training, his criticism and rejection of both. This is only to say that the autobiographical novel and the autobiographical tract are in agreement.

Denmark, but Dr. Hackett learned "to be a patriot and... love...medicine." As a squire he hunted and rode and shot, while Bridget Doheny Hackett did the work of a drudge. Francis' paternal grandmother, remembering the greater days of wealth, reminded Bridget of her family's lower social position. The silver tray on the sideboard reminded Francis and his mother of this social gulf, and Francis took his mother's side. "I disowned refined cousins, pious aunts, remote uncles. I disowned Grandfather. I embraced the proletariat and became a member of the Workingmen's Club at the age of eight." His mother was "daunted," for she thought these Hacketts "more refined and of more substance than they were."⁵⁶

Dr. Hackett, realizing more than grandmother Hackett the inadequacy and emptiness of social distinction, became

⁵⁶Hackett, Denmark, 257-258. Oddly, Francis Hackett was more severe on his father's family in Denmark than he was in The Green Lion, which tells the same story in much more detail. In Denmark, Francis wrote: "A class prejudice is easy to fortify. My mother was right to feel wroth at the mincing, preening, tittering provincials, pale decoctions of an English class myth, who took themselves to have more breeding than a farmer's daughter and a higher culture than the deep folk culture of the farm. But strong as my mother's feeling was, and hard as the case was, she was daunted....By the degree which they could hurt her and injure her, she believed them superior." Denmark, 256-257. Of course, Francis, as we shall later see, wrote this book in part to justify "the deep folk culture." Perhaps his attempt to use his autobiography in Denmark as an anti-Nazi tract accounts in part for the greater vehemence. The Green Lion's references to Dr. Hackett's squirish pastimes and the aristocratic trappings are on pages 16-17, 29-30, 34-36, 144-145, 100-101. Two prominent Hacketts, Sir William Bartholmew and his son Sir William, both of Cork, may have been part of the genteel tradition in Francis' family. See: Frederic Boase, Modern English Biography (6 vols. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1965) I, 1270.

an Irish patriot. Francis Hackett described his father's political opinions, political actions, and his political instruction of Francis ("Jerry Coyne") in his characterization of Humphrey Laracy in The Green Lion. Dr. Hackett was a fervent supporter of Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891). He supported Parnell because Parnell opposed British rule of Ireland.⁵⁷

Humphrey Laracy (Dr. Hackett) told the priest at the Cathedral that Parnell was the one Irish leader since O'Connell. Parnell's obstructionism had smashed the ridiculous conciliatory Irish parliamentary program. Parnell, originally one of those eighteenth-century gentlemen from Wicklow who saw themselves as Southern planters, had risen

⁵⁷Ireland was the prime disturber of British politics in the nineteenth century. Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association in the 1820's fought for Roman Catholic rights. That struggle was followed by "Young Ireland" (1840's), the potato famine crisis (1846), Fenianism (1860's), the Land League and the Home Rule League of Charles Parnell (1870's-1890's). Gladstone, trying to salvage English control through reform, disestablished the Irish Church in 1869, passed the Land Act in 1881, and the Arrears Act in 1882, only to find himself faced with the demand for Home Rule, a stepping stone to independence from Great Britain. Parnell obstructed and filibustered in the English Parliament, organizing the disunited Irish members into a corps that hampered British government in the hope that England would grant Ireland self-government. Gladstone tried to achieve Irish Home Rule but was defeated in the general election in 1886. In 1893 his second attempt was defeated by the House of Lords. Home Rule's failure prepared the way eventually for Sinn Fein and the demand for an independent republic. After Parnell died, John Redmond led the Irish nationalists in Parliament, but Sinn Fein, the Gaelic League and the syndicalist Labor Movement stirred in Ireland. David Thomson, England in the Nineteenth Century (1815-1914) (vol. III of the Pelican History of England; Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1950), 182-183.

above the limitations of his background. Parnell had ignored his class' standards, the running off to Oxford and British judgeships. He had inherited the tradition of Grattan's parliament, the tradition of George Washington and Bunker Hill. "He digs into the thick hide of English privilege with the sharpest tool of all, the new democracy." Humphrey admired Parnell as the leader of Irish democracy and cultural nationalism.⁵⁸

Humphrey (Dr. Hackett) was a democrat. Francis grew up in a fervently Parnellite home. Francis' Parnellism and Kilkenny's political revelations about mankind eventually conflicted with his religious education. Humphrey regarded the British military establishment and the Roman Catholic churches in Kilkenny as "two big bulges" on the town. The Church protected government "by the gentlemen for the gentlemen." The bulges hedged in Humphrey's freedom to speak as he wished on Irish affairs. He compromised temporarily by attacking only the "imperial incubus." But the supporters of Parnell were too much under the Church's excessive

⁵⁸Hackett, The Green Lion, 34-36. Humphrey said that his grandfather had been a rich solicitor who had worked for Catholic emancipation, but when the family money was gone his father had become a school teacher who "worshipped O'Donovan, the Kilkenny man who edited the Annals of The Four Masters." Humphrey's family was of the gentility, "but the boast of family grandeur had come to irritate Humphrey Laracy, especially as it had become refulgent in his mother's mind only after the sun had gone down." He mocked the symbolic "silver on the sideboard." He cherished the "real relics...the hidden Irish poetry, the sagas that his father had laboriously possessed himself of...and Humphrey's worship of Parnell sprang from a fierce desire that this racial history should again become unhampered."

supervision. "We won't lead, and we won't let anyone else lead us. That's why we have two alien masters." This was a particular brand of Parnellism that in cultural nationalism and democracy transcended mere Home Rule. The effect on young Francis is reflected in the novel. He preferred Parnellite clerks in groceries. He discovered that the epithet hurled at him, "Kitty O'Shea!", referred to Parnell's "wife" (supposedly adulterously stolen from Captain O'Shea). Francis and Dr. Hackett resented the Church's condemnation of Parnell. As a young Parnellite, Francis brooked "No Dictation from Any Source whatsoever!" Parnell's reply to the British became young Francis' political catechism. The priests should stay in their own province.⁵⁹

The Hacketts resented the priests who did England's dirty work by telling Ireland to break with the immoral Parnell. Consequently, as a boy of eight, Francis did join the Workmen's Club in Kilkenny and their excursion by train to a Parnellite mass rally. At one meeting line was

⁵⁹Ibid., 42-45, 56, 68-73. Perhaps Parnell did come to Kilkenny and visit Dr. Hackett, and Francis Hackett's description of Parnell may represent a personal experience. This fervent Parnellism should not be easily discounted. Pamela Hinkson, Irish Gold (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), 226, remembered: "....I was the child of two parents who worshipped Parnell and who continued to worship him until they died. To that passionate loyalty I had grown up. There was no waning of it nor any dimming of memory with years that followed his death, although other experiences and other loyalties might have been expected to push it into the past. One thinks now what manner of man he must have been to keep such a feeling alive in those who followed him. It was a bond between Parnellites until they died. I often heard: 'He stood by Parnell'; or 'He went against Parnell,' as though there were nothing more, on either side, to be said...."

thrown in Parnell's eyes and Dr. Hackett sprang quickly to his side and removed the lime with his tongue.⁶⁰

Humphrey was "a good Catholic but not a good sheep." The Church had turned class resentments and celibate fear of sex against Parnell. The Church "had driven its sheep to the booths." Parnell died, and eight-year old Francis had a martyr to remember. Even at the Poorhouse, he discovered, there was politics, for the board refused to buy the meat supplied by a Parnellite butcher. Dr. Hackett's Parnellism was attacked from the pulpit and Dr. Hackett boycotted that church.⁶¹

The vessel began to drift from anchorage in the harbor; by fourteen the lines that bound Francis to the Catholic shore were shredding from strain. Young Francis' politics derived not from Aristotle but from Parnell. "Science trickled down to him" in Dr. Hackett's home. Adult

⁶⁰Hackett, The Green Lion, 75-81, 85-88, 90, 92. I was extremely surprised that this, one of the least likely to be true because it was so important, was an actual incident. In the novel an unnamed doctor performs the feat, but James Delahanty assures us that "the story of how Dr. Byrne Hackett licked the lime out of Parnell's eye in Castlecomer is well known" and that Dr. Hackett was "one of the leading supporters of 'The Chief.'" James Delahanty, "The Quarter: A Look Back," The Kilkenny Magazine, No. 2 (Autumn, 1960), 46-48, p. 47. Parnell is praised and the O'Shea affair is discussed in The Green Lion on pages 93-95.

⁶¹Hackett, The Green Lion, 96-100. Delahanty, "In Memoriam: The Green Lion," 50, says that "Humphrey walks out of his parish church in protest at a remark by the preacher. This was an actual happening; indeed, every incident in the novel really occurred; nothing is invented. It is merely the dramatis personae that have been changed." Colum to author, January 12, 1968, said: "Francis...was the son of a very devoted Parnellite [sic]. The condemnation of Parnell by the Irish bishops affected him violently...."

and boy resented the pro-British country aristocracy of Ireland. Humphrey (and perhaps Dr. Hackett) read Zola. The Irish Church helped to suppress Parnell; the French Church had helped condemn Dreyfus.⁶² Francis was taught at school that the Jews preferred Barabbas to Christ. At home he learned that in the Dreyfus affair a man had been crushed by army and church to maintain a lie. He became a Dreyfusard as well as a Parnellite and a laborite.⁶³ On the horizon loomed a storm between the Hackett sympathies and the Irish Church. The location, fittingly enough, was the best protected of harbors, a Jesuit secondary school named Clongowes Wood College.

Clongowes Wood

Clongowes Wood College,⁶⁴ nestled in the slopes of County Kildare, was a product of much Irish history. An ancient Irish Queen, Queen Buan, supposedly slept eternally on school soil. Cromwell's General Monk had wrecked the

⁶²Hackett, The Green Lion, 108, 155. This mental connection was not so strange, for it has been made elsewhere. The British novelist Anthony Burgess, for instance, portrays an Irish priest in England, Father Byrne, who bitterly hates the Jews, in Tremor of Intent (Ballantine ed., New York: Ballantine Books, 1967), 18.

⁶³Hackett, The Green Lion, 178-181. Hackett's other writings, his career, and his correspondence support this.

⁶⁴The Jesuit purchasers of the property chose to restore to it the ancient name; *gow* means *smith*, therefore the name began as *smith's meadow*. P. W. Joyce, Irish Names of Places, 233. See Corcoran, The Clongowes Record, 45.

original castle. The English Pale, in 1395 separating Irish from English, ran nearby. Sections of the Pale ditch could still be walked on in the 1930's.⁶⁵ In the midst of an alluvial plain where the river Liffey turns eastward, lived generations of the family of Eustace. They had displaced the Gaelic owners after the twelfth-century Norman invasion. Catholic John Eustace fought in the Twelve Years' war (1641-1652) and lost his land in defeat.

Richard Reynell, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas under Cromwell, secured the land and Charles II confirmed his possession on July 20, 1667. Six weeks later, Reynell sold Clongowes Wood to Thomas Browne, a Kildare-born merchant in Dublin. Browne's descendants restored the castle General Monk had wrecked in 1642. In 1769 Thomas Wogan Browne inherited and remodeled Castle Browne. Clongowes schoolboys learned that Wogan Browne had hidden his friend Hamilton Rowan from the British military, and that Wogan had been the friend of Theobald Wolfe Tone. Michael Browne, commander of the Saxons under Napoleon, quit the march to Moscow and returned home when he learned of his brother's death. Michael Browne sold castle and demesne to Jesuit

⁶⁵Corcoran, The Clongowes Record, is the best source of information on Clongowes. Corcoran attended Clongowes from 1886 to 1890, and was a master there (including the years Francis attended) from 1894 to 1901 and 1904 to 1906. Other published sources dealing with Clongowes include writings by and about James Joyce, Oliver Gogarty, and Thomas Francis Meagher; W. P. Kelly's novel, Schoolboys Three (1895); the college's Clongownian; and Francis Hackett's The Green Lion.

Father Kenny and rushed back to war. Browne represented Saxony at the Congress of Vienna. Meanwhile, considering the position of the Jesuit order, Daniel O'Connell had advised Father Kenny to buy confiscated land in the name of a Protestant landlord. It was later ironical that O'Connell had suggested William Parnell of Avondale, Wicklow, the grandfather of Charles Parnell. The ruse was deemed unnecessary, and in 1814 Fr. Kenny had purchased Castle Browne and 137 acres for the price of 16,000 pounds.⁶⁶

Based on the Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599, the "Master's Rules" of 1818 outlined principles of rigid religious instruction for Clongowes students. The supreme duty of the Jesuit master was "to instruct his scholars in the doctrine and morality of our holy religion; to teach them to... have a horror of vice; to make them know, love and practice piety and virtue...." The Master might answer questions, but he would remember "that it is dangerous to suggest objections to young persons, or to encourage them to seek for difficulties, in matters of faith." The spiritual instruction and examination of Clongowes students, modified somewhat in 1839, remained into the twentieth century essentially that which had been established in 1818. In 1876 all Irish Catholic

⁶⁶Corcoran, The Clongowes Record, 46-51. It was no wonder then that Kevin Sullivan, author of Joyce Among the Jesuits (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), remarked, page 13, that on his visit he had a deep sense of "an ancient and historic countryside" at Clongowes. Corcoran included many fine photographs of Clongowes in his study.

colleges were brought into a "federal plan for Religious Knowledge." Students advanced from Catechism in the lower classes to senior Intercollegiate Examinations in Apologetics, Scripture and Church History. In 1878 a public examination in secular studies in three grades, the Intermediate Examinations, was established. These were, however, in "accord with the provisions of the Ratio Studiorum of the order."⁶⁷ Clongowes students did well on the Intermediates. In religion, the Sodalties, Retreats, Liturgy, actions of a Spiritual Direction, "and in the junior sections or lines the Sodality of the Holy Angels" all continued.⁶⁸

Dr. Hackett sent all of his sons to Clongowes Wood College, the Eton of Catholic Ireland. Bartholomew Hackett

⁶⁷Corcoran, The Clongowes Record, 142. Teaching at Clongowes began five weeks before Pope Pius VII, on August 7, 1814, restored the Society of Jesus. There was some alteration of matter if not form in Clongowes courses under the Intermediate System of 1878. Corcoran also describes the assignments of Prefects and Masters to teaching and discipline, and the division of the "lines" of students on the basis of age. It is interesting that a bit of Hackett's brother's research, that by Fr. W. P. Hackett, is cited in this study which seldom gives sources. The Intermediate Examinations on secular subjects lasted for ten days in mid-June. They were given to boys aged twelve to eighteen in all Irish secondary schools. Corcoran blames the pedantic, non-conceptualizing nature of these exams on the triumph of English education over the European system. In the latter, which long prevailed at Clongowes, he said, that composition, not fragmented-grammar exercises, had been stressed. He also regretted that English Protestantism had introduced more science and mathematics in the studies. Corcoran, The Clongowes Record, 85, 112, 139, 142-145. In effect he admitted Francis Hackett's condemnation of the Clongowes secondary courses as superficial rote drill, although this was definitely not Corcoran's intention.

⁶⁸Ibid., 151, 154.

attended Clongowes from 1888 to 1892, John from 1889 to 1892, Dominick from 1890 to 1893, William from 1890 to 1895 (the longest tenure of the Hacketts there and he became a Jesuit priest), Edmund Byrne from 1893 to 1894 and Francis J. from 1897 to 1900.⁶⁹

Francis, at Clongowes from age fourteen to age eighteen, devoted many troubled pages in The Green Lion to his memories and impressions of his Clongowes years.⁷⁰ He had hoped that Clongowes would transcend the rote memorization of Euclid and history required of him in Kilkenny. Dr. Hackett believed, or at least Humphrey in the novel does, that the fervent Parnellite youth would not completely succumb to the Jesuits while they would give him a "good education." Perhaps one of his older sons told him that the education too narrowly trained boys for the Intermediate exams. Bridget Hackett probably hoped Francis would become a Jesuit or enter the Indian Civil Service. At any rate, newly outfitted, Francis was forwarded to the Jesuits on the train to Kildare. He rode through strange, flat country and at dusk arrived at the school, gazing open-mouthed as he made his way through the large gateway and up the long avenue to the castle. A Jesuit descended the impressive staircase in the eighteenth-century reception hall to greet him. He was then taken from the ancient dignity of the castle into

⁶⁹Ibid., see alphabetical list beginning on page 165.

⁷⁰Hackett, The Green Lion, 192ff.

the schoolboys part. Here Francis found an ugly institutionalism that "reminded him of the less cheerful aspects of Kilkenny Railway Station."⁷¹

The school contained three hundred boys, thirty Jesuits in the castle, lay teachers, farm hands, various workers, and one woman--the infirmarian. The Jesuits were the dominant contact of boy with adult. Clongowes was somewhat isolated on a plain. Dublin was distant. Some tiny villages were nearby. The boys were from old, landed, Catholic families, the sons of plutocrats, or of lawyers and doctors. The Jesuits had given up some of their curriculum to enter the Clongowes boys in the Irish Intermediate examinations. Although the class names, "Grammar, Poetry, Rhetoric" remained, they had in fact become the junior, middle and senior grades of English "public" schools. The Jesuits, bent toward another world, had to prepare the boys for this one. The Irish Jesuits therefore had to move in opposite directions simultaneously. The Jesuits depended upon the support of the well-off, middle-class, Catholic parents who sent their sons to Clongowes in preparation for a world in which cricket and tennis were important. The parents expected Clongowes to prepare their sons for careers in the army, the navy, government offices in Dublin Castle, the Indian or British Civil Services, and professions such as law and journalism. The "Eton of Ireland" had to draw such boys from a country of disputed loyalties and social

⁷¹Ibid., 206-207, 221-222, 224-225.

displacement. The Jesuits had to adjust to prejudice. They had to reflect the English sympathies of the Irish class that supported Clongowes. Home Rule and Gaelicism were disdained. This was expedient. Francis did not know of this Jesuit opportunism when he arrived. He was a Parnellite and a Dreyfusard and he distrusted officialdom.⁷²

Francis' politics would eventually clash with Jesuit sympathies and his curiosity battle with Jesuit education. The average Jesuit, he slowly realized, preferred orthodoxy to adventure in thought. Troubling topics such as the Inquisition, the French Revolution, Darwin and Marx had been effectively removed from the curriculum. It was, he later decided, a fig leaf education; a red-flagged Jesuit halted human curiosity. He eagerly twisted himself into a system that jammed boys through mazes for examinations instead of exposing mysteries to hungry young minds. He began to grub for marks.

In the schoolboys' society he chose the more reticent for his friends. The boys did not really have freedom, not as he had known it in Kilkenny and Liss. This was a regimented, male society, policed by black-froaked figures. Study, dormitory, play and chapel, and classes were presided over by the watchful Jesuits. By deep winter, of course, he had adjusted somewhat to the new environment.

⁷²Ibid., 227-231. Sullivan's discussion of the Clongowes student's economic, political and social background in Joyce Among the Jesuits, 22, agrees with Hackett's.

But youth is flexible only in relation to the individual. He resented the boys at "Pigs' Table" who enjoyed extra desserts for their marks and the boys who had sumptuous hampers from home. He ate what was tossed upon the table, the same kind of colorless food he later ate in steerage on the Lusitania, soggy bread, weak, tin-flavored tea, ragged meats and gloomy desserts. His appetite for sharp flavor he slaked by buying a large supply of "lemon plait" for three pence at the shop.⁷³

He liked class best. The Jesuits did stimulate him more than the Christian Brothers ever had. Some teachers were good, some bad. He worked hard because his "results fees" had to stand in stead for the fifty pounds tuition normally required. But his daydreams intervened and snared diligence in its attack on Euclid. He occasionally was rapped for mooning. He seriously but insincerely attacked the dry and factual history, the meaningless bits and pieces that were Latin, mathematics or geography. Rote learning was the key to success, marks, not knowledge or insight, the reward. He became a spiritless grind. He welcomed Christmas vacation at Kilkenny by eating too much, riding his bike, clumsily skating, and attending mass at the Black Abbey.

At Clongowes Francis received further instruction in the "horror of sin." He hated the Clongowes chapel, the black-draped fast days, and was emotionally upset by religious harangues. God would permit the devil to kill bad

⁷³Ibid., 235-237, 242.

boys. If fifteen-year old Francis did not do the tyrannical God's will then he would be harshly punished. Self-government was not a human prerogative. But in Patriok Street self-government was still an item of deepest faith. British government was detested precisely because it was British rule over Irishmen. Jesuit strictures against self-reliance and the shock of Holy Week left him despondent into the spring of his first year at Clongowes. Before exams he was sent to Dublin for glasses to correct his myopia and astigmatism. In June he regurgitated particular information to answer detailed questions, belching his way through the tricky labyrinth. His questioning mind rebelled, perhaps almost as much as the adult Francis Hackett recalled. After the ordeal of days of examinations, Francis returned to Kilkenny for the summer vacation.⁷⁴

Although glad to be home in Kilkenny, he found that home chores exasperatingly interfered with his reading. When he left the house he was surprised to find that he was out of touch with the city. No longer quite a boy, he began to see a different city. He took long walks, and the solitude "deepened his religious preoccupation." He was out of touch with Liss, too. He brightened to learn that his performance on the exams would put him on the "Pigs' Table" next year.⁷⁵

He fled Kilkenny where he was increasingly an alien and returned to Clongowes an Old Boy. It is often the intelligent

⁷⁴Ibid., 243, 245-255, 257-258, 260.

⁷⁵Ibid., 262-266.

boy who is initially the most susceptible to the cultural and moral myths of his society.⁷⁶ Consequently, Francis was serious on the Clongowes retreat while many boys cutely broke all the rules. He sought God's will and, troubled, found Francis' will fidgeting, blocking the path. He knew he somehow had to suppress his "self-indulgence" and his "gross impulses." In literature, he escaped the retching discipline of swallowing capsuled information.⁷⁷ He became a "Holy Angel," member of a religious sodality that gathered some of the boys for "prayer and contemplation." Under the approving eyes of the priests he worked more diligently and made friends with his fellow Angels. He began to see life as a Jesuit saw it and to glory in the language of Benediction. Perhaps, he wondered at age sixteen, perhaps he had a vocation as a Jesuit. Conduct he interpreted as mistreatment of

⁷⁶Malcolm Cowley, The Literary Situation (New York: Viking, 1958), 70-71. Malcolm Cowley, in 1917, stood in front of Widener Library and declared to himself that it had all been a lie, everything he had been taught.

⁷⁷The Green Lion, 266-269. Hackett discussed his teachers (p. 268). James Delehanty said: "The gallery of teachers contains a series of portraits taken from life, like all the rest. Fathers O'Malley, Gaul, Devlin, Cantillon, Mr. Holt--the names are pseudonymous but the men are real." Delehanty, "The Green Lion: In Memoriam," 51. Francis, of course, played boys' games, and perhaps had a fight or two. Hackett maintains in all accounts about his childhood that he was sometimes eager but always clumsy at games. Hackett, The Green Lion, 274-275. His father hunted, but Francis played cricket and fished. "I was very low church when it came to sport," he recalled in 1923, "and now I am an agnostic." Francis Hackett, "The Rolling Stone," New York World (January 15, 1923), 11.

Francis by individual Jesuits began the dissolution of this daydream. Still, he was now accepted by Clongowes and he accepted Clongowes. When vacation came once more he discovered that Kilkenny was increasingly remote and that his close friends were Clongowes boys. His academic disgust, except for literature, had not abated; he hated Greek, Latin and math. There was yet an unrest concerning religion. The Church had criticized Dr. Hackett's Parnellism. The Jesuits were indifferent to Irish nationalism. Francis grew angry with himself for not meeting the standards of conduct and thought that the Jesuits had taught him to accept. He was, he thought, morally retarded, scholastically dull, and a failure with girls.⁷⁸

Torn between religion and the world, Francis approached his last year at Clongowes reluctantly; he did not want to be regimented again to the school's authority. He felt in himself, beneath his surface orthodoxy, deep religious difficulties. Perhaps sex was not bad. He resented particular Jesuit priests. He isolated himself from his fellows. Finally, his last examination week came and he was free. But to what? For what career? And what did he believe?⁷⁹ The long developing mental and spiritual crisis in Francis' boyhood culminated during that vastly important last year at Clongowes and his final months in Ireland.

⁷⁸Hackett, The Green Lion, 278-279.

⁷⁹Ibid., 300-312.

The Twilight of Innocence

Young Francis had never been a mere passive lump molded by circumstances. His inquiring mind sought wise council in books and men. He early made important choices: to attend his father's Parnellism; to champion his mother against the snobbish tyranny of her in-laws; to join the Parnellite Workingmen's Club with more knowledge of the meaning of the choice than boys of eight usually have.⁸⁰ He read books and he investigated Kilkenny and its people. He learned of long, human time in the ancient city, and, as a doctor's son, of agony, death and responsibility. He learned things from children. He began to learn his religion from the Key of Heaven and sermons. The Hackett children at home listened to stories from the Bible, and at school studied the "Acts of the Apostles."⁸¹ But he watched his father leave the Parish church because Dr. Hackett and the priest publicly clashed over politics. Slowly, Francis made his way from Freeney the Robber and from the Boy's Own Annual to close attention when his father talked of Zola and Dreyfus.

When he grew older in Kilkenny, young Francis visited the Kilkenny bookshops. He was attracted to The Children of the Abbey and Charles Reade's The Cloister and the Hearth. In preparation for a trip to Liss, he purchased six books, a Sir Izaak Walton for some unknown reason, Robinson Crusoe and

⁸⁰Hackett, Denmark, 257-258; Hackett, The Green Lion, 76-78.

⁸¹Hackett, The Green Lion, 98, 46; Francis Hackett, "The Frivolous French," 726.

Ivanhoe. His teachers at the Christian Brothers made an impress on his mind without touching his curiosity.⁸² Certainly the Brothers never satisfied his creative urge.

He learned his politics from the Kilkenny newspapers and from his father. Science was present in the Doctor's home, and Francis was attracted to the art of George du Maurier and Phil May. He copied the local paper, the English Weeklies, the art of Phil May's Annual, and as editor-artist produced the Patriotian. This was a fitting name for a Parnellite to give his little paper, but it was really named for the street on which he lived. His father's cronies and family friends had been blackmailed into three penny-a-copy subscriptions to his weekly. A feedback began between his impressions from life and the lessons from books, and this led him to create his weekly. "Some copies of the Patriotian survive, incredibly. Each number consisted of a couple of copybook leaves and contained pieces of high-spirited juvenilia as well as coloured and black-and-white sketches of considerable skill."⁸³ A boy inclined toward imaginative creation is often drawn to both word and line.

In the Hackett home he read all of the books that attracted him and adventurously voyaged into the worlds of popular novels. They sharpened his taste for unknown

⁸²Hackett, The Green Lion, 99, 108-109, 124-127, 142, 146-148.

⁸³Ibid., 155-156; Delehanty, "The Green Lion: In Memoriam," 51. Hackett's letters to Felix Frankfurter and Ben Huebsch, even on the eve of Hackett's death, contain skilful and often humorous sketches.

adventures and worlds then out of reach. Running through the house, he often snatched a book, The Prisoner of Zenda for instance, and disappeared for hours of glorious absorption. He had been dismayed to learn that his playmates, eager for enjoyable physical excursions in imitation of Nansen and Stanley, would not follow him into those wonderful worlds of fiction. At thirteen, Francis entered the "twilight of innocence," discovering things about himself, others, the world, that were often disturbing. His own baseness was disturbing because of his religious education, and because his political beliefs were not those of his religious mentors.⁸⁴ At Clongowes, particularly in his final year, his critical mind and troubled conscience tore at the veils of innocence.

It is significant that Fr. Corcoran's Clongowes Record nowhere contains a real description of the secular courses and their content in which Francis Hackett and other boys were instructed. The Jesuits, Francis decided, distrusted the moderns, preferring orthodox and superficial essayists to the Pascals and the Nietzsches, ignoring modern science and suppressing troublesome topics. Absorption, not analysis, was required for this bland fare.⁸⁵

Francis began, without knowing it, to grow in intellectual directions that would carry him far from his Jesuit education. Literature began to be more than entertainment

⁸⁴Hackett, The Green Lion, 156, 175, 179-185.

⁸⁵Ibid., 229, 231-234, 245.

to him. On vacation he read Its Never Too Late to Mend, Edgar Allen Poe, and Dickens' Nicholas Nickleby. Then, in his second year at Clongowes, a Jesuit teacher who had a winning sense of humor had encouraged the writing of superior English. He told the students to read Stevenson for his adjectives, and Greek to improve their writing in English. He had stirred Francis' enthusiasm. Francis had gone to the library for Stevenson and been captured by Kidnapped. At the library, however, he made a momentous discovery--Thackeray. He devoured Vanity Fair and Pendennis and their revelations of life. No platitudes could stir him as much as he had been shaken by Thackeray's human beings. Certainly Thackeray's moral advice blended conveniently with the Clongowes code and the Ten Commandments, but his "revelatio ...of crass human behaviour" awakened Francis. While the Jesuits swished past with hushing smiles, Francis tumbled about in the clash of society's turnoils, the clamor of men and women, the tug of social and economic classes. Shushed facts were here printed! He began to haunt the Clongowes library.⁸⁶

Francis did not steadily march toward a break with the Jesuit precepts. He skipped hours with Thackeray to pray with the Holy Angels. As he approached sixteen he had

⁸⁶Ibid., 268-269. For debate, he probably did read and glory in Edmund Burke's condemnations of British misrule in India. Perhaps to support his acceptance of this he chose, as Jerry does in the novel, the phrase "foot-lickers at the English throne," culled from Shakespeare's The Tempest. He was angry when he thought of bumptious young "public" school products ordering the natives about in their own country.

seriously contemplated joining the order. He had eagerly purchased a new translation of Thomas a Kempis' Imitation of Christ. Not even Thackeray could disturb his comfort just then at Clongowes. He had received an embossed volume, The Essays of Sydney Smith as a prize for Bible knowledge. The only thing troubling his rapport with Clongowes was that which he regarded as mistreatment of him by the Prefect of Studies. This Jesuit had destroyed a copy of the Patrician with its "banal" imitations of Punch.⁸⁷ Although Francis had divided the Clongowes world into pro- and anti-, he had worked for scholarly success, been "ardent in sodality," and diligent at football.⁸⁸

In Kilkenny that summer before his last year at Clongowes, Francis felt much more distant from the town and now even Ireland. He missed his Clongowes pals and his English teacher, and he was losing political hope in post-Parnell Ireland. He delved into the economics of James

⁸⁷Thus it happens, at any rate, in the novel. James Joyce, a predecessor of Hackett at Clongowes, recalled his experiences in the first chapter of A Portrait of the Artist As a Young Man (New York: Huebsch, 1916). Citations refer to the Compass edition from Viking Press which first appeared in 1956. Joyce was there only as a very young boy. Joyce and Hackett agreed on Parnellism and Kitty O'Shea (36-37), the priests' opposition to Parnell (39), the abnormal relations among many of the boys, resentment at unjust punishment, and in condemning the same Prefect of Studies. Sullivan, Joyce Among the Jesuits (39-40), defends the Prefect. Sullivan (56) finds it significant that Joyce wrote some Parnellite poems as a boy. See also Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain, eds. The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Materials for a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (Evanston, Ill. Northwestern University Press, 1965).

⁸⁸Hackett, The Green Lion, 278-282.

Fintan Lalor. He was troubled still that he was not worthy enough by Jesuit standards.⁸⁹

The decisive battle so long building within Francis' mind wracked him in his final year at Clongowes. The thin, medium-sized seventeen-year old boy was torn between the Imitation of Christ and his brawling world of Kilkenny politics and human nature. He could not condemn worldly vanities and inordinate affections. The Imitation of Christ told him that knowledge deluded, that human thought often deceived, that virtue was preferred to science and knowledge, that he should heed the saints' words, that he should resist passions, that he should put himself below others, that he should have no traffic with women. But in the midst of such admonitions to respect authority and to worship the absolutes of the Church's virtue, the Parnellite phrase, "No Dictation from Any Source whatsoever," recurred to him, and troubled him.

⁸⁹Ibid., 285-287. James Fintan Lalor, the son of Patrick Lalor, an anti-tithe member of parliament from 1832 to 1835, died in 1849. Near-sighted, deaf, deformed, James Lalor pondered schemes for the liberation of his country. His secluded life ended in 1847 when he began writing for Charles Gavan Duffey's Nation. Lalor advocated "physical force, land confiscation, and a struggle for national independence." He suggested a strike against rent and tried to form his own land league. His association died at birth. In May, 1848, John Mitchell was transported and his United Irishman suppressed. He replaced it with the Irish Felon which, following Mitchell's arrest, was edited by Lalor until the journal died with its fifth number. Lalor was arrested at Ballyhane, imprisoned under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, and, ill, was released. His plans for an insurrection died with him on December 27, 1849. J. A. H., "Lalor, James Fintan," Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds. Dictionary of National Biography, XI, 419-420.

He could not reconcile Thomas à Kempis' advice with the resistance of authority.⁹⁰

In his last year, Francis had an English teacher who made a deep impression on his schoolboy life.⁹¹ A man of keen insight and a rich sense of humor concerning his fellow Jesuits, British rule of Ireland, Irish education and Irish students, this Jesuit dreamed of a free Irish education capped by a real university. He began to give special lessons and assignments in English to Francis to prepare him for the national examinations. Francis "could actually feel his mind growing." Yet Francis resented other Jesuit disciplinarians and his resentment of them fed his opposition to all Jesuit authority. The only experience he looked forward to by the time he returned for the second term of his last year was seeing his able English teacher again.

The teacher's effect was manifest in Francis during the holidays. Francis read and read, novels like Red Pottage, and Harold Frederic's The Damnation of Theron Ware. He tried in vain to understand Stephen Crane's The Red Badge of Courage. He was "fascinated and touched by Hamlin Garland's Rose of Dutcher's Coolly." But his deepest

⁹⁰Hackett, The Green Lion, 290-292. He could not forget unjust conquest. The "Massacre of Mullaghmast, the Battle of Vinegar Hill and the story of the Manchester Martyrs" had been the "meat and drive" of his childhood. Hackett, Denmark, 30.

⁹¹Delehanty, "The Green Lion: In Memoriam," 51, said, as we have noted, that the teachers described in the novel were renamed counterparts of Hackett's real teachers.

experience came when he plunged into Whitman's Leaves of Grass. "Here was an answer to renunciation, a cry of the senses raised to a paean of joy." Dreyfus was part of the just revolt against authority; authority persecuted Jews and Irishmen. Catholic authorities had made grave mistakes. Perhaps Whitman and the novelists were right and the Jesuits were wrong; perhaps man and sex were not sinful. He could not respect certain Jesuits and this, too, helped focus his doubts about certain key Jesuit tenets. The Jesuits allowed the British to recruit on campus for officers to serve against the Boers!

While individual Jesuits worried about Francis' religious alienation, Francis approached the final examinations with a feeling of imminent liberation. How could he be a good Catholic in a church that had persecuted Parnell and Dreyfus, that opposed the Fenians and a Gaelic League enlisting men like William Butler Yeats,⁹² a church that demanded he forget the stirrings of his mind and his body? He doubted the "Immaculate Conception and the Resurrection." He feared, but he could not believe.

⁹²According to Padraic Colum, Francis Hackett did not have much hope for the Gaelic League as an effective instrument of Irish liberation. Colum to author, January 12, 1968, "He became an anti-cleric--he never got over his anti-clericalism--and made his [him] disgusted with Irish politics. He was not influenced by the new movements in Ireland--the Gaelic League, for instance--and I think it can be said that he turned his back on Ireland from the time he came to America." Francis Hackett to Hamlin Garland, December, 1911, H. Garland, Companions on the Trail: A Literary Chronicle (New York: Macmillan, 1931), 456. Francis recalled that he first read Rose of Dutcher's Coolly in "1896 or 1897."

He was free, but to what, to what belief, to what vocation? Once more in Kilkenny, he found that he wanted "something glamorous." Yeats drew him a little toward Gaelicism, but there was no Gaelic league in Kilkenny, no literary life stirring. There was no real university in Ireland for him to go to. He read George Meredith's The Egoist and Diana, Carlyle, and Browning. His reading stimulated him, and Kilkenny became duller by comparison with what he read. The new ideas he absorbed tortured him because they were beyond his experience. He tried to write about James Fintan Lalor. He read Evelyn Innes by George Moore. He read Oscar Wilde, and Max Beerbohm. The British and the Jesuits oppressed Ireland, but the Irish liked the Jesuits and tolerated the British. Perhaps Francis Hackett should leave the clerics and clerico-ridden, British Ireland and go to Whitman's America.⁹³ When he arrived in New York in 1901,

⁹³Hackett, The Green Lion, 301-329. Sullivan tells us that the Jesuits left a deep mark on Joyce. This was his "first exile," where he "was immersed in a deeply religious atmosphere, almost monastic in its intensity." Sullivan does give more credit to the Jesuit influence for dedication, integrity, fortitude and diligence than did either Hackett or Joyce. Sullivan did admit, however, that Irish Catholicism in a country dominated by an "English Protestant culture" had become "defensive, insular, parochial, puritanical," and that "Jesuitism is a concentrate of certain basic elements of Roman Catholicism." At "Clongowes Wood the West British influence extended even to the playing fields." and religion at Clongowes was "likely to affect the will and imagination of the young more acutely than spelling, sums, or geography." Sullivan's sketch of the monastic life the boys led helps us to understand the violence of the reactions created in Joyce and Hackett. See Sullivan, Joyce Among the Jesuits, 2, 8-11, 23, 27, 42, 45-47, 54-55. Oliver Gogarty, however, favorably compared it to his English education. At Clongowes, he remembered, he was better fed and less tyrannized. O. Gogarty, It Isn't This Time of Year at All (London: MacGibbon and

Francis did not forget what it had meant to be "one of a conquered people."⁹⁴

Kee, 1954), 30. The young Hackett watched but did not meet Gogarty at Clongowes. Francis Hackett, "Introduction," Gogarty's As I Was Going Down Sackville Street (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1937), vii.

⁹⁴Hackett, Denmark, xi.

CHAPTER II

HACKETT DISCOVERS AMERICA

"I've heard whispers of a country that lies far
beyond the sea,
Where rich and poor stand equal in the light of
freedom's day."

from: "The Wearing of the Green"

As a boy in Ireland Francis thought of America as a bright flag flying above the tent of a Wild West Show, the taste of oranges, and an uncle's "alcoholic reverie on the Horseshoe Falls." His early experience and employment in the United States provided new impressions without giving him a sense of a finer America. Business America spoke to him in a "difficult and alien tongue." In 1906, five years after he entered the country, Hackett discovered America in a Chicago settlement house. During those five years the American flag remained for him "a flag on a circus tent, a gay flag but cheap." Yet, in the "ash-heap of Chicago", that brawling giant of commerce, the bête-noir of reformers, pure-fooders and laborites, he first felt a "sense of the intention of democracy." In a haven of "clear humanitarian faith" on Halstead Street, Francis Hackett discovered that "America had a soul." Jane Addams' Hull House, American in its very internationality, became for Hackett and other

aliens "a cry of personality, a declaration of the meaning of life, a protest of values, a lifeline."¹

"New York is Full of Anghnalee People."

They waited from noon until five, standing on the Liverpool dock, staring across a stone pier at the huge four funnels of the massive Lusitania. Well over a thousand people heard the official cry that the British were to board first. Then the "horde of ignorant foreigners" stormed the gangway only to be checked in their rush by the British police and the ship stewards. Jumbled about by Swedes, Irish, Russian Jews, Poles, Finns, Lithuanians, Greeks, Welsh and the English, Francis decided later that the scene was nearly as cosmopolitan as the Third Avenue El. While he could see he watched the tired men, women and children as they stood

¹Francis Hackett, "As an Alien Feels," in Hackett's Invisible Censor (New York: Huebsch, 1921), 39-40; Hackett, The Green Lion, 8; "As an Alien Feels," appeared in slightly altered form, first in the New Republic, III (July 24, 1915), 303-306, and third in a New Republic reprint, CXXXI (November 22, 1954), 106, in the Fortieth Anniversary Issue of the New Republic. Francis Hackett, "Hull House--A Souvenir," Survey, LIV (June 1, 1925), 275, 278. Much has been written about assimilation in general and the assimilation of particular ethnic groups and, as Milton M. Gordon calls them, "etholasses" into American life. See Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origin (New York: Oxford, 1964), and Gordon's bibliographical references to such items as Alain Locke and Bernhard J. Stern, eds. When People Meet (rev. ed., New York: Hinds, Hayden and Eldridge, 1946). Of particular interest to this study are Gordon's chapter three, "The Nature of Assimilation," and chapter six, "Theories of Assimilation: Part III: Cultural Pluralism." As Gordon points out (p. 135), "cultural pluralism was a fact in American society before it became a theory" articulate in the intellectual life of America.

patiently in line for medical inspection. He was ordered to remove his glasses for examination. Through a hazy blur he reached another doctor who made him remove his hat and examined his "unnaturalized" head. He had already paid a four dollar tax for that head that morning, when he had purchased his \$37.50 fare and received an Inspection Ticket. The Inspection Ticket was now stamped, and a steward showed Francis to his room.

He faced seven men talking and smoking in room H22. The portholes in the stuffy room did not open; Hackett gave up the effort and wedged himself into a lower bunk. Soon he and the other steerage passengers crowded on deck to watch, roped off, the cabin passengers ascend a special canopied gangway. Their leisured, dignified fatigue solaced by the natty, braided officials who met them, the cabin passengers relinquished their light burdens to the now obsequious stewards. Francis glanced at his hungry-eyed fellows behind the ropes and turned back to watch the "daughters of Zion" moving in their easy world, consoled, not harassed, their eyes and their polls immune to inspection. He and a Syrian later watched Liverpool, indifferent to their departure, slip away. Emigration had already increased Francis' bias in favor of the less fortunate, the injured and the oppressed.²

²Francis Hackett, "The New Steerage," Forum, LII (October, 1914), 531-534; Hackett, Denmark, 79. John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925 (New York: Atheneum, 1963), 98ff, briefly describes immigration restriction and control.

That night, while the Lusitania rolled in the Mersey across from Liverpool, Francis skipped supper and joined the crowd filling the deck. Concertinas appeared. Francis grew excited with the tempo of the music, the singing and the dancing, although he did not join these festivities. He did talk. He talked to a Russian, to a Greek, and to some of the English. He did not like that Englishman who so detested foreigners that he quickly paid his way into second class. Francis decided on a move, too. After fruitless conversations with the steward, he moved himself without authorization into a less crowded, four-berth cabin. The mattress, made for a single trip and then dumped, contained no bugs. There was no linen, just a blue horseblanket that Hackett supplemented with a rug, observing other passengers burrowing beneath rugs and overcoats. For cleanliness, there was a tin basin in his room, bowls in the general laboratory, and one bathtub for all of male steerage. Constant noise prevailed because some passengers rose at dawn when others went to bed. Francis rose late and joined fifty others in line for breakfast in the ridiculously small dining room. There stewards placed the British and Scandinavians to one side, Jews and Poles on the other. Francis sat and observed the twenty people and one sad plant at his table. The oatmeal with dried milk, the potatoes, the herring, apricots, beans, soup and occasional sausage were edible. He ate the bread and cursed the meat; he heartily detested the eggs and the tea and the coffee. He did not relish the egg shells served

in his steerage dessert, the beef knobs in the apples, and he distinctly disliked the codfish head that stared at him from his rice pudding.³

As they left the coast of Ireland Francis observed the dismay of his fellow passengers. They became very ill on the third-class decks which were not cleaned for some hours, and some fainted in the stale air of steerage cabins. A few Jews clustered in one corner of the deck. When the sea subsided people again walked and talked and smoked. Hackett made one important discovery--he truly enjoyed these people. The stewards were generally helpful, his fellows in steerage were easy to talk to, and the variety and contrast of nationalities excited him. It was "instructive" to have the "direct experience of being an underdog," but it was also somewhat pleasant to be with people who did not hide behind affectations. Of course there were many who displeased and even disgusted Francis. He agreed when a Swedish woman called a crude Croatian a "dirty pig" because he blew his nose with his fingers. Hackett disliked the "incredibly blasphemous and incredibly self-important" Greek who had been in America, flaunted his American money, and referred to his fellow passengers as "hunkies." The Scandinavians were lively. A group of English passengers stuck to

³Hackett, "The New Steerage," 534-536; Hackett, Denmark, 246.

themselves, but most of steerage was sociable. Sometimes they were "frankly amatory," but at 9:30 P.M. the women had to retire below decks.⁴

Two days before the Lusitania docked, Francis and the other passengers, having stood in line for an hour, were vaccinated for smallpox. After another hour Francis finally faced a clerk and answered his questions. Yes, he was bound for Brooklyn and he had friends there. They entered New York harbor on Friday, staring at the "cliffs of Manhattan." The naturalized passengers carried papers; Hackett and his fellow aliens gathered to go to Ellis Island.

The last day on board Francis endured "Harrowing strain and confusion." They remained on the Lusitania for hours, waited for the boat to the island, and then carried their luggage through processing for more weary hours. Jammed like livestock on the boat, they were told to press forward: "'Move up, I say, move up. God! move UP, you damned kike!'" When they reached the island they endured another medical inspection. Could Hackett see without glasses? Not a bit, he replied. Officials tested his vision and stamped "'Specially Examined'" on his Inspection Ticket. At three o'clock he climbed the steps into a large hall filled with benches and sat where his Ticket told him to sit. He eventually reached the gated screen. He had a brother living in Brooklyn? He had money? "'All right, pass on. No, there is

⁴Hackett, "The New Steerage," 536-540; Hackett, Denmark, 246.

nothing further," the kind voice answered. "'You can go as far as you like now!'" Francis hurried down the stairs, turned in his Inspection Ticket at the final door, and rushed into the fresh air and bright sunlight of America. He boarded the ferry to New York.⁵ Byrne Hackett waited for his younger brother, Francis, who had exchanged Ireland for America and intended to "go as far" as he could.

At twenty Byrne Hackett had come to America in the year 1899. He had joined the firm of Doubleday, Page and Company in 1901 and would remain with them until 1907.⁶ Byrne's presence probably helped attract Francis to America, made emigration easier, and softened the shock of alienation. Years ago their uncle had been in America.⁷ Francis

⁵Hackett, "The New Steerage," 536-542.

⁶See any biographical entry for E. Byrne Hackett in Who's Who in America beginning in the volume for 1916-1917 into the late 1940's.

⁷Francis Hackett said that the succeeding image of America, following the Wild West Show and the oranges, "was gathered from a scallawag uncle. He had sought his fortune in America--sought it...on the rear end of a horse-car" Hackett inferred. "When he came home he was full of odd and delicious oaths. 'Gosh hell hang it' was his chief touch of American culture. His fine drooping mustache too often drooped with porter. Once, a boy of nine, I steadied him home under the October stars and absorbed a long alcoholic reverie on the Horseshoe Falls. As we slept together that night in the rat-pattering loft, and as he absently appropriated all the horseblanket, I had plenty of chance to shiver over the wonderments of the Horseshoe Falls.

"This, with an instilled idea that America and America alone could offer 'work,' foreshadowed the American landscape. It is the bald hope of work that finally magnetizes us hither. But every dream and every loyalty was with the unhappy land from which I came." Hackett, "As an Alien Feels," in Invisible Censor, 39-40. See also Hackett's The Green Lion, final chapters, and various parts of Denmark.

Hackett's knowledge of America far transcended impressions of a cheap fluttering flag or roaring Horseshoe Falls. He had read many American books, novels by Harold Frederic and Stephen Crane and poetry by Edgar Allan Poe. Whitman's Leaves of Grass and Hamlin Garland's Rose of Dutcher's Coolly had significantly shaped his imagination. He had probably read Byrne's letters home to his family in Kilkenny. Irishmen heard news from American letters daily in every Irish community.⁸ Francis had heard America described as a land of freedom and opportunity since his childhood. Kilkenny's cultural and political stagnation, Francis' personal disaffection, the unpromising avenues for a career--all of these things drove him from Kilkenny; but opportunity

⁸His reading acquired new meaning in America. "From Whitman, eventually, the naturalizing alien breathes in American air, but I doubt if I should have ever known the meaning of Walt Whitman had I not lived in that initiating home." In Hull House he not only found the meaning of America and of Whitman, but the spirit of Lincoln. Considering that Lincoln's "dear Double-D'ed Addams," was Jane Addams' father, Hackett's statement takes on added meaning. See Note 45 of this chapter. Hackett, "As an Alien Feels," Invisible Censor, 42-43. Lincoln's phrase is quoted by Ray Ginger, Altgeld's America: The Lincoln Ideal versus Changing Realities (Chicago: Quadriangle edition, 1965), 124. Arnold Schrier, Ireland and the American Emigration: 1850-1900 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), viii, granted that conditions in Ireland were responsible for the extent of Irish emigration, but most of that emigration chose America because the country attracted them. "That lure was crystallized in an image of America conjured up in Irish minds from the millions of emigrant letters that flooded back across the Atlantic...." Schrier, p. 162, discovered that 5,323,937 letters were sent from the United States to the United Kingdom in 1875, and that individuals sent (p. 167) \$8,756,765 from North America to the United Kingdom in 1887. Eleventh-century Crusader letters home were common property and read in parish churches.

lured him to America. Emigration was almost a natural consequence to being a young and ambitious Irishman in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Padraic Colum knew a girl who did not worry one bit about the prospect of going to America. Her brothers and sisters were there. The photographs in her Irish home had been taken in America; the newspapers in the room were American newspapers. Besides, she remarked, "'New York is full of Anghnallee people.'"⁹ In 1901 no Irish immigrant landing in New York was a complete stranger in the land. These Irish immigrants were generally better informed about America than the broad pictures of immigration might have us believe. Many of the Irish emigrating from towns like Kilkenny were far from being uneducated, rural "paddies."

Carl Wittke reminds us that there was another, a smaller but significant, stream of Irish immigration made up of men who quickly rose above the laboring multitude. Edward O'Neill had ventured from Kilkenny in 1837 and became a bank president and mayor of Milwaukee. Young Michael Cudahy of Co. Kilkenny had first worked in a meat-packing concern in Milwaukee, then developed a process for curing meat under refrigeration and soon headed the Cudahy Packing Company.¹⁰ Gifted Irishmen like Cudahy (an inventive

⁹Colum, Road Round Ireland, 26.

¹⁰Carl Wittke, The Irish in America (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1956), 230-232. Timothy L. Smith, in his article, "New Approaches to the History of Immigration in Twentieth-Century America," The American Historical Review, LXXI (July, 1966), 1265-1279, if it is

businessman), Byrne Hackett (publisher and rare book dealer), Francis Hackett (literary critic, novelist and historian), or Dom Hackett (labor management expert), were a vital but generally forgotten part of Irish immigration to America. E. L. Godkin, the nineteenth-century founding editor of the New York Nation, and Francis Hackett, founding literary editor of the New Republic, were only two of the important Irish gifts to American intellectual development.¹¹

Between 1845 and 1900 almost five million Irish came to America. During this time the population of Ireland fluctuated between eight and six million. Emigration was even more serious than the drastic proportion might indicate, because

the case, rightly regrets that the "once promising field of immigration studies has fallen upon bad times." Surely one area of study crying for attention is that of the European intellectual in America, both as an intellectual influence and in relation to his national-origin group. I suspect that Professor Smith and most students of immigration would agree with this, and I consider the present study a contribution to understanding the importance of the intellectual immigrant in American history.

¹¹ See Thomas N. Brown, Irish-American Nationalism: 1870-1890 (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1966), xivff, for accounts of some other Irish journalists in America, particularly men like John Devoy the "ideologue...of Irish-American nationalism" and editor of the Gaelic American. "In Chicago there was Long John Finerty, a Galway man with a reputation as a classicist who, in Irish-American affairs, displayed a most unclassical immoderation." There were many others, including the influential Patrick Ford, editor of the Irish World in New York. Even the Slovenes, from thirty to fifty percent illiterate as an immigrant group, a burden added to their non-English-speaking background, had their influential Joseph Buh and others. See Timothy L. Smith, "New Approaches to the History of Immigration in Twentieth-Century America," p. 1277.

the five million included many of the most ambitious and intelligent young men, like Byrne, Francis and Don Hackett. In 1901, the year Francis arrived in New York, 39,210 Irish men and women emigrated overseas, an unusually high proportion of them choosing the United States. Of those Irish who chose the United States, the percentage had increased from 81.4 percent of the total emigrating in the years 1851-1860 to an impressive 92.7 percent in 1891-1900. In that last decade the Irish comprised 10.6 percent of the total emigration to the United States. The population of the United States in 1900 was 75,568, 686, including 10,341,276 foreign born, 1,615,459 of whom were Irish born. There were in New York alone 425,553 native Irish. In the entire work force of the United States for the year 1890, the Irish made up twenty percent of the unspecified workers, sixteen percent of the servants, nine percent of the farmers, two percent of the agricultural laborers, three percent of the railroad employees and over three percent of the cotton mill operatives. On April 18, 1883, the Kilkenny Journal refused to foster emigration by publishing information without charge that would help people emigrate. But the front page of that very issue carried five eye-catching steamship company advertisements.¹²

¹²Schrier, Ireland, 157, 159, 160, 180. Schrier's sources for these figures include the Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems, 1948-1954, Majority Report (Erie: Mimeographed by the Ministry for Social Welfare, 1954), 309-311; as well as The Twelfth Census of the United States and many Irish newspapers.

Emigration was a part of Irish life for those who never left Ireland. Lennox Robinson of the Abbey Theater remembered "poignant scenes at a little railway station at West Cork, shawled women and sobs; a bearded father kissing a young, bewildered son." Outside Limerick, at Patrickswell, Robinson recalled a porter who called out "'change here for America.'" ¹³

Many of the men and women who made up the population of America in the early twentieth century had traveled from the known to the unfamiliar--America. Emigration was an awesome experience. AE, who visited but did not emigrate, wrote to Joseph O'Neill from America on October 13, 1930: "The size of this country is appalling." ¹⁴ Oliver St. John Gogarty, as a mature adult, successful surgeon, playwright, poet, former Irish Senator, and a figure in the fiction of James Joyce, confessed that his measurement of America was affected by the yardstick he used. He measured this huge land in terms of an island "133 miles from sea to sea." ¹⁵ The very vastness of America was fearsome and impressive, but within himself

¹³Lennox Robinson, I Sometimes Think (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1956), 77. Fulcher of Chartres' Historia Iherosolymitana, translated by August C. Krey in The First Crusade (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith reprint of 1921 Princeton edition, 1958), describing the parting of the First Crusade in 1096: "...Oh what grief, what sighs, what weeping! What lamentations among friends....Sadness was the lot of those who remained, those who left were glad."

¹⁴Eglinton, A Memoir of AE, 199.

¹⁵Oliver St. John Gogarty, A Week-End in the Middle of the Week (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1958), 19.

the immigrant carried something of home, and, in one sense, the farther he traveled from Ireland the clearer became his vision of his tiny island.¹⁶ Perhaps it was George Bernard Shaw who best expressed what many immigrant Irishmen felt: "I have lived for twenty years in Ireland and for seventy-two in England; but the twenty came first, and in Britain I am still a foreigner and shall die one...."¹⁷ Perhaps no Irishman ever forgot his Ireland, and young adult emigrants were forever shaped in significant ways by their first twenty years even if only in revolt. But if the contrast between the slim round tower of Celtic St. Canice's and the cold cliffs of Manhattan was startling and dwarfed a young man's experience, the contrast also thrilled and enticed imagination.

New York: "a ticket in the big lottery."

Francis was greatly impressed by what he saw in New York. He saw a Negro for the first time, and the Hudson all the way up to Albany in colorful autumn. He was "enchanted" by the country at Bay Ridge, the crickets and cicadas, the red sumac leaves and the "hard high blue of the American

¹⁶Hinkman, Irish Gold, 226.

¹⁷Shaw's statement was reported by Time on November 8, 1948, and is quoted in Caroline T. Harnsberger, comp., Bernard Shaw: Selections of His Wit and Wisdom (Chicago: Follett, 1965), 161. Gogarty, congratulated on his return home, said he had not been away, but had only thought so. "You know that Ireland is a place or state of repose where souls suffer from the hope that the time will come when they may go abroad. I was only in London." Gogarty, As I Was Going Down Sackville Street, 260.

sky." On Sundays he walked for miles in "terrible and marvelous Manhattan," mingling with Italians, Germans, Jews, Greeks, Syrians, Irish, Norwegians and Poles. The skyscrapers loomed above him; the Flatiron building steadily grew. He hungrily watched people in hansom cabs, large stores and theaters. "It was novelty, novelty, and when you are young there is nothing like it," be it ice cream, paintings at the Metropolitan Museum or symphonic music at Carnegie Hall. "You have a ticket in this big lottery."¹⁸

Francis was not yet "an American born in Ireland," as he described himself in 1952.¹⁹ He was an Irish boy in America, but he was more than a boy in that he had progressed from acceptance of what was given him as essential to acceptance of what he preferred. This process later became a creed, that man was born "to revolt and to reshape." Man, if he were worthy of self-esteem, had to revolt, especially if that man were "capable of ideals." He began, Hackett later recognized, with the normal human reaction against parental control. Leaving the Catholic Church was definitely part of that revolt; emigration had been "another phase" of it. He had gone to America for many reasons, but in part at least "because there was not enough nationalism" in Ireland. Although he had turned his back on his island and turned his

¹⁸Francis Hackett, "I Choose Denmark Once More," Danmarksposten, Nos. 11-12 (November-December, 1952), 5-7, "Foredrag i Danmarks Radio af den verdenskendte forfatter."

¹⁹Ibid., 5.

dreams away from the future of Ireland, it had yet been "pure anguish to leave Ireland at eighteen....To go from Ireland was a wrench almost endurable." His first years in America, from 1901 to 1904, were "so homesick as to be at times agonizing."²⁰

Hackett's first years in and around New York were unsettled; he groped his way through a number of jobs. Byrne probably put him in touch with John Quinn, corporate lawyer and patron of Irish writers, and thus Hackett became a clerk in a law firm. Then he worked for about eighteen months "with the agent of an Eastern mill" at ten and later thirteen dollars a week. He next worked four months for "a corporation in Rhode Island" at fourteen and eventually twenty dollars a week as "assistant to the paymaster and purchasing agent." Although the job ended when the corporation failed, his superior praised Hackett's "ability, integrity and cheerful willingness."²¹

²⁰Hackett, Denmark, ix, 100, 172. Consciously or not, Hackett echoes Ralph Waldo Emerson's declaration that man was born to be a reformer. Narrowly defined, the term reformer does not seem to apply to most men. Hackett and Emerson mean of course that they themselves were so born. Man generally does not seem actively to recognize this birth-purpose. Hackett's revolt and Emerson's reform are not quite the same things. S. N. Behrman, "The Effrontery of a Director: An Introduction," Elia Kazan's America America (New York: Popular Library, 1962), 15, says "The boy Stavros is rent by two homesicknesses; for the home he has abandoned, for the home he seeks. It is the pain at the heart of every migration. But there is a high exaltation, too."

²¹Francis Hackett, "At the Foot of the Ladder," Part I, The Reader, VIII (March, 1906), 363-364.

In 1901, yet the era of William McKinley, cheerful Francis immediately bumped into the "iron law of wages." He was making \$3.50 a week; he approached his senior employer and asked for five. Judge Philbin's face clouded. Yes, he could give Hackett a raise, but Hackett disappointed him. By the time the Judge finished his monologue, Francis was very upset, but he stubbornly mumbled that he could not live on less than five dollars a week. After one year with the firm as a law clerk, Francis resigned his five-dollars-a-week position.²²

In 1902 Francis and his friend Christian Brinton lived at Mrs. Meagher's boardinghouse at 73 Madison Avenue, New York.²³ For amusement, Hackett walked at night on Broadway where the "only women to say 'dear,'" were "the women who say it on the street."²⁴ In 1903 Hackett worked in some capacity for Fred Clark, son of the conservative economist John Bates

²²Hackett, Denmark, 248; Hackett, "At the Foot of the Ladder," I, 363. The paths of John Quinn, Byrne, and Francis will cross again in this study.

²³Hackett, Denmark, 49.

²⁴Hackett, "As an Alien Feels," Invisible Censor, 40. George Test, in his dissertation, "The Vital Connection: A Study of the New Republic Magazine as a Literary Journal, 1914-1922," cites an article in Newsweek, V (March 9, 1935), 44, and then raises the issue of inconsistencies in the accounts of Hackett's early New York and American employments written by Hackett and others. Although there is some confusion, nothing of importance to the present study seems involved. But see George Test, "The Vital Connection" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, English Department, University of Pennsylvania, 1960), p. 42.

Clark.²⁵ That same year Issac F. Marcossan, who had just joined the editorial room of World's Work, lived across the hall from Hackett in a rooming house at 45 West 25th Street. Hackett, according to Marcossan, was "then selling book cloth." Francis slept in a hall bedroom covered with a skylight. Pleasant? Perhaps, but the rain paused, gathered its forces at the skylight, and then fell into his room. Francis crossed the hall and slept on Marcossan's floor.²⁶

A "quality of goodness" amidst a "commercial civilization"

Francis Hackett went to Chicago in 1904. When he "first lived in Chicago" he gave up a salary of forty dollars

²⁵ Only in 1952 did Hackett learn that John Bates Clark had taught Thorstein Veblen, whom Hackett much admired. Francis Hackett to Benjamin W. Huebsch, March 16, 1952, in Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 12, Folder 1907-1920. Clark had called for "legislative control" of railroads in the Granger era. See Theodore Saloutos, "The Agricultural Problem and Nineteenth-Century Industrialism," Agricultural History, XXII (July, 1948), 172.

²⁶ Issac F. Marcossan, Before I Forget: A Pilgrimage to the Past (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1959), 89. Marcossan mistakenly thought that Francis "had just come over from Ireland." Of course the word "just" may in his mind have implied a year or two. Hackett wrote about the period 1901 to 1903: "For many months the music of New York harbor spoke only of home. Every outgoing steamer that opened its throat made me homesick. America was New York, and New York was down town, and down town was a vortex of new duties. There I learned the bewildering tongue of earning a living, and the art of eating at 'Childs'. At night the hall-bedroom near Broadway, and the resourceless promenade up and down Broadway for amusement." Although this is Hackett's early reaction, this alien feeling continues into 1906. Hackett, "As an Alien Feels," Invisible Censor, 40.

a month to write a book.²⁷ Francis secured an advance of \$100 and a commission to write a book on how people could make themselves both healthy and attractive, warning them, for example, that if they ate pie they would have pimples. He walked north of Chicago Avenue to the Newberry Library and culled his best chapter, the one on baby care, from books in that fine library, having no experience with babies himself. His brother, probably Byrne who still worked at Doubleday's, advanced him some money to supplement the commission, and Hackett settled in a dollar-a-week room on Superior Street.

Francis lived in a dirty, unfurnished house. His landlady, who lived there rent free as caretaker, gave him an upstairs room. Mid-winter came and there was no heat. His quilt was wretched, the room cold and grubby. His landlady gave him a bucket of hot water for an occasional bath. The towels were rags, the tub gray as he washed by candlelight. Sometimes he went to a saloon for a twenty-five cent meal, glad to forget his thin, kind landlady "whom life had cornered in a Chicago cellar." At Christmas she called Francis from his cold room at the top of the stairs and he spent the holiday with her and her child. She fed him. In spring, "still alien to one another," they went their

²⁷ Hackett, Denmark, 248-249. This is only one of several statements made by Hackett which confuse any attempt to discuss the jobs he held and when he held them. The only position that Hackett surrendered at exactly forty dollars a month was one at Marshall Field's in Chicago, a job he acquired after his effort to write this book.

separate ways. In that house on Superior Street he felt that he had experienced "a small sample of poverty." Poverty began, he decided, "where soap ends." A family magazine distributed his manuscript, "Beauty and Health," to the Middle West.²⁸

One "hot morning after the Fourth of July," 1905, Francis Hackett, knowing "pretty well" his way around Chicago, went out into the city in search of a job. He copied down the addresses of Marshall Field's, Swift, Armour, Siegel Cooper and Company, and the First National Bank. At mid-morning Francis rode the elevator to the fourth floor warehouse offices of Swift and Company on 240 LaSalle Street. The cashier advised him to catch the Lakeshore train out to the stockyards where there were more jobs to be had. He rode out to the stockyards, "past the cheap fifteen-cent hotels, the cheaper jerry-built frame tenement houses, past the immense freight depots, the dirty cross-streets and the empty lots...." He allowed the conditions and bustle of the yards to slip past him as he hurried about seeking the Swift manager. He noted the posted figures which declared that

²⁸Hackett, Denmark, 248; Francis Hackett, "Cold Pie and Pepsin," New Republic, XXVI (April 13, 1921), 189-191. A literary adviser told him that he could get \$250 for a book on beauty and health, but after he had written the book and submitted it, the publishers returned it saying they did not want a book informing girls that eating pie would cause pimples. They wanted one that told a girl how to eat pie and not get pimples. Then the literary adviser farmed the manuscript out to the Middle West in a family magazine. The publisher's lesson in American optimism stuck in young Hackett's mind.

already that morning the yards had received 27,000 cattle, 33,000 hogs, and 18,000 sheep--and Francis Hackett. He could not ignore the animal noises. Cattlemen stood in the pens or rode with their whips in the streets; greasy butchers wandered about, and natty office personnel walked around.

At Swift's huge red building Francis filled out a card and watched the horde of clerks and typists noisily at work. An application blank for future vacancies was the reply to his plea that he needed work "badly." He then climbed many flights of stairs to the office manager's desk in Armour's stockyard establishment. No opening. He decided to skip the other offices in the Union stockyards and returned downtown to Siegel Coopers. Come back tomorrow before ten, that's when applications are considered! Since it was a "free day at the Art Institute," he spent the afternoon there.

The next morning the dismal pattern recurred. Armour's downtown office told him to submit a card and a letter for possible vacancies. Perhaps dejected, and certainly weary, Francis climbed the marble staircase between two chiseled lions imported from Italy and entered the First National Bank. There he received an application blank which searched his life in merciless detail. His eye fell on the oath which ended the questionnaire, pledging his "entire time, energy and ability to the exclusive service of the bank." Well, he couldn't sign that so he left.

Francis next went to Marshall Field's retail store, and then to Field's wholesale branch on Adams Street and Fifth

Avenue. He provided the necessary data on his family, education, employment record, religion and ambitions. Did he intend to become a lawyer? No, he replied. He was twenty-two and did not drink or smoke. Instructed to return on Monday with his references, Hackett brought three letters from former employers and was offered a job at ten dollars a week. On Tuesday he accepted the job and followed a Mr. Pfister down to the basement, past the stacks of hardware, sleighs, brass beds, mirrors, and cotton goods. A clerk told him where to put his hat and coat. He took his seat at the last desk in the room. He was now an employee in Marshall Field's basement.²⁹

If pedestrians suddenly thought to look down they could see the clerks sitting at high desks working on large ledgers by the light of green-shaded lamps. The clerks looked up, especially at women, glad for the break from their tedious labors. For six weeks in July and August, 1905, Francis was one of these men. He copied the numbers of cases shipped and received into a huge ledger, placing as many as two thousand entries daily under their proper indexed subject. He was confused at first, but the other clerks told him that he would soon be able to enter items in his sleep. A happy and rewarding prospect....

At eight each morning Francis and twenty-four other clerks began their work beneath the street. He and five

²⁹Francis Hackett, "At the Foot of the Ladder," I, 358-364. I do not know whether the names of Knight, Pfister, etc., are correct.

others sat coatless at high desks in the center of the room; the office boys actually sat under the sidewalk. A "silent flaxen-haired girl" typed incessantly, filling the room with a mechanical monotony. Comptometers clacked, the letter chute slapped, the city and telephone bells rang. Fans buzzed overhead, and wagons rumbled in Franklin Street. The crates sliding into the building and the freight handlers' carts added to the noise.

The "pallid," "pinched" and "snappish" senior clerk, Ed Fisher, frowned at all queries but did help Francis find his way in his new job. Hackett dined the second afternoon on the fifty cents he received for night overtime. He worked "twenty-five nights out of a possible twenty-nine." Nightwork was "practically compulsory" during a rush. He ate his supper at a cheap restaurant and watched his fellow workers smirk at the waitress and touch her. Having eaten hurriedly in twenty minutes, he was back at work by six. The twelve clerks working that night were more talkative and jocular because they were not supervised; the watchman entered and asked if they thought the place a "joy-house." Of course not, they loudly replied, it was a "bug house." They made weak jokes and lewd suggestions about all women--sisters, sweethearts, fellow workers. Perhaps young Francis was a bit prudish in the midst of it; he was probably silent, for he considered such talk "indecent," disrespectful and "degrading."

Francis made friends with some of the clerks. He talked often with Alec Laird, tormented by jibes because he was Scotch. Alec took Hackett to a cheap restaurant. After their meal they strolled over to Michigan Avenue and flopped down upon the grass across from the Athletic Club. Brash young Hackett tried to talk Alec out of marriage, not because Alec's economic prospect was so dim and dreary, which it was, but because marriage would weaken and stifle him. He offered Alec many theories that had struck him in Man and Superman, but Alec was a wavering and facetious disciple. "I handed out the new stenographer some of that dope you were giving me."

'And what did she say?'

'She thought I was crazy.'"

Francis did not like Dan Sullivan, an alien-bating Irishman who did, however, give him the same advice that others in the basement (the "pig-pen" to upstairs employees) offered; he said there was no chance for a man in Marshall Field's. The likeable, quiet Irish-American Tom Fleming knew that in his job, and married, he had no future.

When vacation time approached, Francis spoke to the meek manager of his department and to Mr. Knight. Why was he leaving? He answered "truthfully," he recalled, "'There is nothing ahead of me, Mr. Knight, down in the basement....I'd have to wait ten years or so to amount to something, and I can't do that.'" Knight told him to be patient and offered him a two-dollar-a-week raise. No, Hackett refused. Knight

said he was "'foolish.'" He would "'never be a success'" if he did not "'stick.'" Knight patiently insisted that Hackett was making a mistake, and for many of his basement employees this advice might have been very useful. Francis left Marshall Field's on August 19, having worked there for thirty-five days and twenty-five nights.³⁰

Beneath the elevated railway at Fifth Avenue and Madison, a newsboy told Francis how to find the offices of the Chicago American. Francis walked past two saloons and found the newspaper offices in a dingy white building. He entered a cluttered, whitewashed editorial room. The illustrators sat near the windows, while editors and reporters worked in the center of the large room. The telephones, typewriters, and telegraph created a terrific din. He wanted to be a reporter. While waiting Hackett read the signs admonishing American writers to avoid exaggeration, to write gentlemanly prose, and to strive for a broad appeal. Francis faced a heavy, pale, thick-haired man with a prominent brow and weak chin. Yes, Francis could type. "'You've had no experience, you say--written a little, had a story accepted or something?'" Well, that would not do any harm, but pretty English was not what the American wanted. Francis was hired.

Thirty minutes later, at ten A. M., he went on his first assignment as a cub reporter. He was told to discover why a wedding notice had been replaced in the newspapers by the

³⁰Francis Hackett, "At the Foot of the Ladder," Part II, The Reader, VII (April, 1906), 513-521.

father's announcement of his daughter's engagement. Francis confronted the father who yelled with some truth that it was "'nobody's business!'" His daughter, he cautiously added, was married "'mit our approval.'" Unfortunately his daughter, Elsa, ran down the stairs in a kimono and disrupted this stalemate. She was hustled out before Francis could get answers to his eager questions. He wondered why she was living at home? With some imagination, Francis sought the family's rabbi, who would not talk and who questioned the veracity of newspapers. The American sent Francis to find the groom or the betrothed who, it turned out, was not in town, and there the assignment limply ended. At five Francis was sent home on orders to return at seven-thirty the following morning.

The next day Francis went to get a photograph of a recent robbery victim. For twenty minutes he questioned and pled, and for twenty minutes she refused, and rightly so he thought to himself. The following day his editor frostily pointed out that the woman had given her picture to another paper. Still employed by the American, Hackett rode forty miles on the Chicago street cars that day. He failed to get a lost child's photograph, and a picture of two sisters who had wed the same day, but he did discover which of three men named William Fox had eloped. All day he reported to and received instructions from the American by telephone. Most of the reports he submitted with the photographs he obtained

were much altered before they entered the columns. His "human interest" reports were "weak."

On Saturday, having interviewed a girl who had lost her dog, he trotted out to check on a fake leg posted in the mud of the twenty-second ward. The leg, tagged with the district alderman's name, identified the site as "'Mud Lake-- No Fishing Allowed,'" to be traversed only by flying women and swimming men. The leg, Hackett learned, was aimed at an alderman who "opposed municipal ownership." Perhaps Hackett's first important disillusion concerning the American came when he read the veering, subtle, and evasive alteration the paper had made in his story, because, according to the American version, the incident had expressed discontent with the alderman's policy "on the traction question." He soon discovered that the rabbi's doubts were justified when, the next Monday, Hackett sought the victims of newspaper-reported attacks by a "mad mastiff" which was in reality a tiny, poisoned puppy. No frothing at the mouth, no chase, no people bitten, no mastiff, just the sad corpse of a little dog lay at Hackett's feet. More significant to him, perhaps, he sadly learned that Negro tragedies did not interest American editors. The tragedies of other minority groups did not fare much better.

The next morning Francis stood in the Campiones home. The Campiones boy had died under a streetcar. There, in the dingy wooden tenement, Francis mutely watched the gray-haired father uncover and kiss the boy's dead face, bow his

head and cry. Francis sadly talked to the man's nephew who said the boy had just come with his mother to America from Italy and had never before heard a streetcar bell. The nephew gave him a photo of the boy. The American substituted for this tenement tragedy a censorious account of violent Italians madly chasing the streetcar. Francis' sense of frustrated propriety grew when the American reprinted and even embellished the lies of a woman in Desplaines, Illinois, when the American altered beyond recognition his account of a lost suitcase, when the paper invented facts in a larceny case, and when Francis was told to lie to get a photo from the Inter Ocean.

His connection with William Randolph Hearst's Chicago American ended when Francis reported the tragedy of an unemployed waiter's successful suicide despite the preventive efforts of his grief-stricken mistress. Francis deeply felt their tragedy when he saw her. He telephoned the office. Was she pretty? Not at all, he replied. No, he heard someone say on the other line, Hackett would not be able to get something, probably the woman's photograph. Francis waited. Then he was told: "'All right; come in.'" He was fired that afternoon. He had worked for the American for fifteen working days, nine hours a day on week days and sixteen on Saturday. His forty-seven assignments had yielded eight photographs, a thirty-percent write up of his reports, and \$37.50 in wages. He was now once more unemployed.³¹

³¹Francis Hackett, "At the Foot of the Ladder," Part III, The Reader, VIII (June, 1906), 35-42.

Francis Hackett's first jobs in America disappointed him. His employers in New York and Chicago spoke a "language of smartness, alertness, brightness, success, efficiency"-- a language he had tried in vain to understand and speak. If he had not discovered Hull House, he later realized, Francis would have remained "alien to the bone" in America. Until he entered the house on Halstead Street the cheapness and superficiality of America had been the "message of quick-lunch and the boarding-house, of vaudeville and Coney Island and the Sunday newspapers, of the promenade on Broadway." In the social settlement something bloomed "besides success." Although Hull House was perfumed by the stockyards, filled with the rattle of trolley cars and the babble of foreign tongues, and "inhabited by highstrung residents," it was there that Hackett first caught the meaning of democracy. He had heard strange things about it, that the men at Hull House were limp fellows and the women sexually frustrated. The "ruling class" called them "'unsettlement workers'" and the Socialists considered them mushmouthed compromisers. Once Francis became a part of Hull House he discovered that the settlement "thawed out the asperity of alienism,"³² and from that day on he praised this institution which so frightened conservatives and irritated radicals.

³²Hackett, "As an Alien Feels," New Republic, CXXXI (November 22, 1954), 106. Hackett was, of course, struggling against urbanization quite as much as he was against a crass Americanization. It would appear that the three articles in The Reader revealed his recognition that urbanization rendered alienation more strigent for the immigrant and, with industrialization, made all workers aliens.

Halstead Street, on the near West Side, was "Chicago's international highway." In 1930 thirty-six nationalities lived in distinct residential groups on Halstead. At the heart of Chicago's population stood the old Hull mansion. Charles J. Hull had built his house in 1856, and in the following decades the area had slowly declined. Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr had found the Hull Mansion at 800 South Halstead tucked between a mortuary and a livery stable, and rented its first floor. They soon leased the second floor and eventually rented the entire house. Hull House, incorporated in the 1890s, included thirteen separate buildings by 1933.³³

Francis and many of the other emotionally tired and hungry aliens found a "respite and haven" on Halstead. In 1906 Francis entered Hull House "totally ignorant of settlement work" and "devoid of missionary spirit." He merely wanted to understand Chicago and to "escape from it." Gradually he realized that this was a unique experience in his life. Flowing from Jane Addams and permeating Hull House was a "quality of goodness, of intelligence, of decent conscience...." Time, experience and reflection brought new meaning to Francis' original impressions of Hull House.

³³John and Ruth L. Ashenhurst, All About Chicago (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1933), 177-183. A good photograph of Hull House is contained in Dorothy Rose Blumberg, Florence Kelley: The Making of a Social Pioneer (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1966), 124. Hull House is portrayed in Frank Hazenplug's Hazen cover design for Jane Addams Twenty Years at Hull House (New York: Macmillan, 1911).

He entered Hull House on probation, as was customary until applicants proved acceptable as residents. The community was separate from Chicago, but not isolated, for it was human, tolerant and cordial. "The ferocious loneliness of Chicago in those early thin-skinned days" made him first doubt that Hull House was real, but it soon drew him into its activities "with thirsty zeal."

Most of the residents had other, full-time jobs by day: Francis was now an editorial writer for the Chicago Evening Post.³⁴ Earning twenty-three dollars a week at the Post, he had excellent financial reasons for living at Hull House. There he paid only seven or eight dollars a week for room and board and lived in a big, somberly furnished room. Once or twice a week, when he returned from the Post, Francis taught English literature to young immigrants or met with his "club of Irish boys." One night a week he enjoyed the mildest chore of all, manning the door.³⁵

His class was largely composed of young "Russian Jewesses, fine, serious girls with big brown eyes and infinite

³⁴The Chicago Evening Post, Francis Hackett and the Friday Literary Review are discussed in the third chapter of the present study. It is interesting that Christopher Lasch, ed. and Introduction, The Social Thought of Jane Addams (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), p. xiii, said that Jane Addams "had no taste for self-sacrifice," and that Hull House "did not represent a renunciation of the world." Instead, it sought to bridge "the chasm that industrialism had opened between social classes."

³⁵Hackett, "Hull House--A Souvenir," 275. For the roles of the residents of Hull House, see the entire book, Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, especially p. 450ff.

patience." It began with eleven in attendance, but after months of Shakespeare, only two pupils remained. He made a mistake. Before each session he puzzled over words for two or three hours and then agonized for forty minutes over each page with his students. This was probably as dull and unrewarding for the girls as his Clongowes Wood classes had been for him. Although they did not know the English language very well, the two girls seemed to believe everything he told them. At any rate, he decided, he had read Shakespeare.³⁶

The probationers and residents at 800 Halstead were a mixed lot, principally young people. Diverse but frictionless compared to businessmen, "huddled intellectuals," "literary groups," or college faculties, Francis recalled in 1925, the residents were carefully culled from the probationers. Only the leaders were to become famous, but the skills and personalities of the almost forgotten residents were vital to the success of Hull House. Francis knew and worked with: Miss Benedict, Mrs. Britton, George Hooker, Frank Hazenplug, Miss Nancrede, and Van Borosini, Carl Linden, Charlie Yeomans, Miss Gernon, Ned Yeomans, and Miss Alice Hamilton. He knew and worked with: Miss Norah Hamilton, who illustrated Jane Addams' Twenty Years at Hull House and Hackett's Survey article describing the experience twenty years later, Miss Clara Lonsberg, Miss Mary Smith, and, of course, Twose. He soon forgot Twose's whole name, but he

³⁶Francis Hackett, "The Rolling Stone," New York World (November 13, 1922), 9.

remembered that it somehow resembled "George Mortimer Randall Plantagenet Twose." Twose had the room next door to Hackett's and Twose had unforgettably plastered one wall with tinfoil. Twose painted. Twose opposed George Bernard Shaw and uplift because he believed that things would be unchanged a century hence. Miss Jane Addams knew that she could depend on Twose even though he did not wear his heart upon his sleeve, and Francis knew too that Twose was "excellent" for Hull House, the only place in Chicago in which Twose would fit. With such people as Twose, who did not bother to go downstairs to meet the eminent James Bryce, Hull House was "vibrant," and its residents became much more to Hackett, the self-styled "literary bird of passage," than mere "copy."³⁷

³⁷Hackett, "Hull House--A Souvenir," 275-280. James Weber Linn, Jane Addams: A Biography (New York: Appleton-Century, 1935), in chapter XI, p. 210 et passim, on the "Widening Influences" of Hull House, quotes Hackett's "souvenir" and discusses the residents mentioned by Hackett. Old Mrs. Pelham, for instance, had once been "Laura Dainty the actress;" she and Edith de Nancrede ran the famous Hull House Dramatic Association. Norah Hamilton and Enella Benedict were painters. Frank Hazenplug became Frank Hazen, and there was "Hackett himself, the Celtic littérateur, eccentric to the backbone, but what a backbone!" One resident often recalled by the others years later was George Mortimer Rendell Twose. Twose was bald, large, long featured, and he danced a mean Highland Fling. "His tastes were fastidious, yet his indifferences to convention were colossal." Summer afternoons he sat nude in his room having tea at five. He chattered, but not about himself. He laughed at the hope of social accomplishment, and yet he did any job that had to be done. Only in Jane Addams did Twose believe, not in himself. He painted and he helped people. He died in New England, the oddest of the odd in Hull House, unforgettable, lovable, capable. Many of the residents are described in books about leading residents and settlement activities, but two published sources of great value are Jane Addams' Twenty Years at Hull House and its successor

Accepted as a resident, Francis long remembered Jane Addams' terse comment, "'You can help.'" He, in turn, was calm when some of the residents excitedly informed him of the imminent arrival of Miss Julia Lathrop of Rockford, Illinois. He did not long remain ignorant of Miss Lathrop, nor of her now famous creation, the Children's Bureau. He gradually discovered how important in the "life of the American people" were Julia Lathrop, Miss Florence Kelly, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Grace Abbott and Jane Addams. He did not know all of them intimately. He knew Ellen Starr only slightly, being less familiar with her than with Miss Waite and Mrs. Pelham, and he caught only "a glimpse of...Raymond Robbins." The "dominant fact" in Hull House was the person of Jane Addams even when she was not there or when Hackett did not see her. He knew her well enough to read proof for her current book and to watch her, quite correctly he later decided, replace the "snarls in her paragraphs" which he had deleted. Working closely with her, Francis learned that there was iron in Jane Addams. She knew what she wanted to say and knew exactly how she wanted to say it.

Francis, a cultural nationalist in Ireland, now decided that Hull House was American because "it perceived that the nationalism of each immigrant was a treasure, which gave him a special value for the United States." Francis found pleasure in the music and talk of the Greeks and the Italians,

The Second Twenty Years at Hull House: September 1909 to September 1929 (New York: Macmillan, 1930), where a description of Miss Enella Benedict, for example, is to be found on page 354.

as well as the Irish, on Halstead Street. Hull House provided an answer to a question vital to all immigrants in America; Hull House recognized the immigrant's potential contribution to the vigor and elasticity of a rich and varied culture. It was a melting pot which blended but did not dissolve differences. Although he had not taught the real lessons in Shakespeare and had not improved Jane Addams' prose, Francis did not waste his year in Hull House. He discovered for himself and he told his readers in ensuing years that there was strength as well as comfort in the personality and creed of Jane Addams.

Jane Addams' "humanity" was "warm, clear and free," and "anything but soft." She had her conservative twinges, but she was loyal to life. Hull House thrived "in a bracing, not a mawkish atmosphere," and it "met the world vigorously." Jane Addams was not "regular" enough for the "special groups" devoted to their particular dogmas, but, Francis insisted, these groups did not understand the important and "the real synthesis...she was making." On the other hand, and very much in keeping with the mature Hackett's approach to both life and literature, an approach perhaps greatly shaped by his year at Hull House, Francis praised Jane Addams and her settlement house precisely because they accepted "life in the crude." He deeply resented the "sentimentalism" which changed his sympathetic and realistic friend into a super-being. Shortly after he discovered America (and perhaps something significant in himself) in Hull House, and ceased by that

degree to be alien, Francis thought of Miss Addams and William James as "the two great Americans, the only two great Americans of the period" that he then "knew about." In James, we can surmise from Hackett's Post reviews and editorials, he found a welcome approach to philosophy. In Hull House he found a "real Americanism."³⁸

³⁸Hackett, "Hull House--A Souvenir," 275-280. Christopher Lasch, Introduction to The Social Thought of Jane Addams, XV, declared that she was "a thinker of originality and daring" as well as an activist. Daniel Levine, Varieties of Reform Thought (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964), 16, is greatly impressed with Jane Addams as an effective reformer and an expert on so many topics in her day. "In all of these areas," Levine adds, "her actions were efficient and effective in producing the results she wanted." Her ideal was "human unity." Perhaps after reading Hackett's "souvenir," Linn, Jane Addams, also thought that Jane Addams, "in her sort of speculation, William James in his sort, stood foremost in America in those years, and side by side." Linn included a photograph of residents in the dining room at Hull House (p. 252), a photo of Hull House (p. 94) and one of Jane Addams in 1910 (p. 238). According to Anne Firor Scott, ed. and Introduction, Jane Addams, Democracy and Social Ethics (Belknap reprint, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), xxxiii, John Dewey and William James were, along with Robert Morris Lovett and others, Jane Addams' close male friends. Professor Scott summed up the essential elements in Jane Addams' thought as "Darwinism [L. F. Ward's of course], 'experience,' pragmatism, and personal value." The connection in person and thought with Dewey was quite direct (pp. xlv, lvi). Some of the direct contacts with James are evident on pp. lxi and lxii.

"In time," Jane Addams wrote in Second Twenty Years, p. 408, "we came to define a settlement as an institution attempting to learn from life itself....But the effort to interpret the contemporaneous situation and to make it usable demanded an ever-widening public who should have a sympathetic understanding of those social problems which are of such moment to us all." She also remarked, p. 410: "I believe that we may get, and should get, something of that revivifying and upspringing of culture from our contact with the groups who come to us from foreign countries, and that we can get it in no other way....The settlement makes a constant effort through books, through the drama and through exhibits, to connect passing experiences with those expressions of permanent values which lie at the basis of

It is perhaps significant that in the same year in which he entered Hull House, Francis Hackett published three comparatively muckraking articles in Bobbs-Merrill's The Reader: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine under the general title of "At the Foot of the Ladder." Francis examined his experiences as a youth seeking employment in Chicago, as a clerk at Marshall Field's, and as a cub reporter on Hearst's Chicago American.³⁹ Hackett and the Reader are probably

world culture." Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, p. 132ff, discusses the cultural pluralist theory and variations, especially of Hackett's friend, Horace M. Kallen. More recent studies than Linn's use Hackett's "souvenir" in their accounts of Hull House or Jane Addams. Edward Wagenknecht, for example, in his Chicago (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 109, 119, quotes Hackett extensively. Hackett's article is a very important statement of Hackett's social attitudes in the 1920's and will be examined elsewhere from that vantage. The Addams works Hackett perhaps read in manuscript are: Newer Ideals of Peace (1906, and there are important similarities between his view and Jane Addams'), The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets (1909), and Twenty Years at Hull House (1910).

³⁹The first essay, appearing in The Reader (March, 1906), was descriptively subtitled: "The Adventures of a Young Man in Search of a Clerkship Faithfully Recorded." The editors called it the first of "A Series of Job-Hunting Experiments Made For the Reader." That statement may or may not be very misleading. The second installment (April, 1906), was subtitled: "Close Range View of the Young Men in Shirt Sleeves Who Toil in a Great City. Their Work and Play; Their Hopes and Fears; Their Morals and Their Manners. A Romance of the Commonplace." The third was subtitled: "The Experiences of A Green Reporter on Hearst's Chicago American--An Inside Story of How News is Gathered and Made Marketable According to the Ideals of a Certain Kind of Modern Journalism." The Reader editors probably wrote these subtitles and in this manner gave the articles a greater muckraking cast than the general title and the articles themselves otherwise convey. Lasch, Introduction to The Social Thought of Jane Addams, xiv, points out that "It was imperative from Miss Addams point of view, that the settlement worker articulate his experience; otherwise the middle class, which had cut itself off from the proletariat, would never begin to understand the degree to which its own culture had

both responsible for the muckraking facets of the articles, but the stated and implied conclusions are characteristically Hackett's. In the first, the weakest of the three articles as muckraking fare, Francis hoped that his "fragmentary study" would have some "limited value" to the "mother who is going to send her boy to commercial life in the city." He delivered more and less than he promised.

Data presently available does not permit a definite decision on whether Francis first held the jobs and then contacted Readers or if, as the articles themselves indicate with some internal contradiction, he sought all of these employments at the Reader's instigation. It is most likely that Hackett had these experiences, saw general applications in them, approached the magazine, and the Reader then increased the muckraking slant of the articles by retroactively converting the experiences into premeditated assignments from a conscientious magazine. We may doubt the instigation, and accept as mere literary device Hackett's statement that the articles began with hours of conversation on the clerk

been impoverished thereby. It was also imperative that the social worker not only help people but also study the conditions under which they lived. Social work, in her opinion, was a form of sociology.

"Why was it so difficult for some of Jane Addams' admirers to grasp this point?....Her greatness...lay precisely in her capacity to ask the kind of questions most people prefer to ignore." So, according to Lasch, society blunted the criticism of Jane Addams by making her, in their minds, an American saint. Instead, as Hackett held, and as Lasch noted, she was a critic, an activist, as well as "a thinker of originality and daring." (pp. xiv-xv).

and ended with his assignment to become a clerk in Chicago, to "see what chance" a young man had "to get work as a clerk in a large city," and to discover the life of the clerk, "his hours, his duties, his pay, his prospects, his ambitions, his views of his work...." Whatever the original impetus behind these experiences, Hackett's published articles do resemble certain types of muckrake writing.⁴⁰

⁴⁰Even the second and third articles are not, however, of the snappy fare of more sensational and successful muckrakers. Hearst and Arthur Brisbane are the only culprits named, and generally no individuals are blackened, no conscious conspiracies betrayed, no titillating revelations made, no investigations or legislation called for, and no bold and immediate remedies propounded. Instead, Hackett ultimately, in each case, indicted the cultural complacency of a whole people, the shallowness of a commercial civilization, and man's unsympathetic regard for man. The muck he raked was more the muck that concerned post-World War I literary radicals than the sensational stuff of Lincoln Steffens. Later chapters of this study will examine Hackett's literary quarrel with the muckrakers. The slight but important difference in tone and purpose in Hackett's 1906 articles compared to the usual muckrake literature is evident, I think, in the selections presented in Arthur and Lila Weinberg's, eds., The Muckrakers: The Era in Journalism that Moved America to Reform--The Most Significant Magazine Articles of 1902-1912 (New York: Capricorn, 1964). Lincoln Steffens plumbed boss rule; Ida Tarbell exposed Standard Oil; David Graham Phillips branded Nelson Aldrich as the master of a treasonable Senate; and William Hard and Mark Sullivan did some of the same for Uncle Joe Cannon and Congress. Hackett's work on Field's clerks and Hearst's newspapers is broadly comparable to the attacks on patent medicines and adulterated food in that the general public was endangered, and to Ray Stannard Baker and William English Walling's discussions of race conflict in that Hackett examined attitudes toward the poor and the alien. Notice how different, when compared with Hackett's articles, are the tone and methods of George Kibbe Turner's "The City of Chicago: A Study of the Great Immoralities," and "The Daughters of the Poor." Hackett's concern was perhaps ultimately that of Turner, moral qualities. His is not quite the moral exhortation of the public to return to morality that characterizes Turner and other muckrakers.

There was little dramatic muck to rake in his job-hunting experience. Hackett's muckrake is a very select tool gently handled. He was less concerned with discovering villains and villainy in big business than with examining the stunted lives of plutocracy's servants and society's neglect of their gray dramas. Francis was impressed in job-interviewing, not with evil on the part of prospective employers, but with the clerks' "ceaseless activity...without apparent effort, with a resignation almost mechanical." The monotony began when the clerk applied for jobs, heard the dull reiteration that there were no vacancies, made patient replies to questions concerning his financial condition, his present or last salary, his references, his account of his time for the previous decade, personal information, and his habits regarding smoke and drink. He was so little in demand that potential employers were manifestly uninterested.

Francis' first article, while following explicit detail from his own interviews, quickly transcended the mainstream muckraking pattern. He criticized the goals business pursued in life because they were so different from the work of Theodore Thomas. The orchestra founder's and conductor's career was "the more significant life," a "gracious, finished life, conscious only of an ideal far removed from the turmoil and fret and strain of commerce," in contrast to the "other life let loose in the stockyards--raucous, rampant, malodorous, yet heroic in its proportions, in its masterful and tyrannical grasp of the lower realities of life,...where

Armour, not Providence, is the ruler of Destiny." Commercial goals, visualizing "nothing which is ultimate," fell far short of the noble ambitions of Thomas. Yet Hackett recognized that Thomas could not have succeeded in his projects without the aid of Chicago businessmen.

Francis believed that neither clerk nor magnate worried much about the "ultimate" concerns. Surely Mr. Armour had never "weighed his life in the watches of the night as did Tolstoy." It was not that businessmen, in Francis' article, were evil and deliberate exploiters of the poor worker; they myopically failed to ponder the effect of their schemes on others and "what moral responsibility" they incurred. Commercial leaders narrowly pursued plans for profit regardless of human cost. On the other hand, the First National Bank of Chicago required that the clerk devote all of his energies and abilities to his job, making the clerk frankly "chattel." Even recommendations and experience in a semi-responsible position did not open the doors to success for the clerk, only to employment at ten dollars a week in a position promising pathetic advancement on the basis of seniority. Perhaps more serious to Francis than the economic prospects of the clerk was the content of his life, his dreams, his mind.

Francis' first article provided background for and stated the theme of all three articles. Everybody thought he knew the clerk, a thing dressed in "ready-made clothes" whose service people took for granted. Society needed to know this man as the other clerks knew him. Hackett wanted to understand, "for both the utilitarian and the human value which

attach even to an experiment in reality," the "hidden yet varied, rushing and turbulent life" in big city office buildings. The clerks could not truly examine and relate the conditions of their lives. Perhaps Hackett's "truthful account of one man's experience" would create an interest in and understanding of the clerk's situation, of how a clerk got a job, of how clerks felt about their lot, of the clerks themselves and their surroundings. Characteristically, Francis found that there was much to be said "from many sides" before the truth emerged. Francis significantly aimed his inquiry at the whole society instead of particular culprits. The second and third articles were progressively stronger in tone and more informative, but even in 1906 Hackett's disclosures were probably not very exciting.

Francis' second article re-examined his experience as a clerk at Marshall Field's and explicitly or implicitly stated unhappy conclusions concerning clerkdom. The clerk labored at monotonous work in uninspiring surroundings amidst noise that was tiring by its consistency. Hackett deliberately demonstrated that the clerks greatly varied in personality, and qualified his generalizations about their attitudes and behavior. Francis was never content to type-cast individuals, distinct atoms of human nature. Consequently, he considered the content of the clerk's life more serious than the surface tragedies of economic status. The clerk's work did not breed or feed curiosity; his economic prospects were very dim. He worked overtime on token pay,

ate at greasy-spoon restaurants or saloons, amused himself by fondling waitresses, and fed his ego with grand talk of wenching. Francis' case for the clerk was not a special plea for the downtrodden pure at heart. Most clerks bantered in "personalities without wit or bitterness, but shameless, indecent and utterly vulgar." They talked about all women "without a touch of respect or restraint," made "vicious and degrading allusions, and indulged in a broadly obscene wit because coarseness implied manliness. One clerk proudly exclaimed that he did not "'use sissy words; I speak right out.'" Francis had made a discovery that would be central to his thought and his essays--man commonly assumed that "restraint is a sign of weakness."

Restraint prevented him from reducing man to type and caricature. His second and third articles were indirectly but centrally devoted to destroying stereotypes. Francis rejected the Horatio Alger vision of the clerk's prospects and discussed, instead, mildly polite or bitterly vulgar, suppressed or patiently struggling, but always ill-paid, dim-futured men who might be either personally attractive or repellent. His restraint in assigning blame for their condition, his reluctance to brush his canvas with broad, sweeping strokes or color characters in one tone, made his style and purpose patently different from those of many writers of the more notorious muckraker articles. For this reason these essays are today less interesting as muckraker pieces, but perhaps more satisfying as literature. They are

readable today precisely because they reflected a habit that became a creed--the writer should write truthfully from his own experience. Experience told him that Alec Laird escaped from the confines of any stereotype as a penurious Scotchman or Hackett's own sketch of the clerk as vulgar, ill-educated and pessimistic. Laird had a sense of humor and he read English literature. One Irish-American at Field's was likeable and one was not. Francis did not ignore variety and variation. Like the modern picture of the negro slave, the clerk Johnson's quietness was deceptive. Johnson successfully refused to work at night. Some clerks had grand dreams of becoming capitalists and thus hated socialists, while others bitterly criticized the conditions of clerkdom.

Hackett delved deeper than the question of hours and wages. His sympathies were stirred by the dark futures facing these men. Tom Fleming had lost his father's visual prospects of economically depressed but beautiful Irish woods and river and greenery in the Barrow lowlands, and now Tom looked upon the world from a West Side tenement. Married, Fleming could not break from his rut. Hackett decided that the issue of marriage was "the pivotal one of the life of a low grade, poorly-salaried clerk," and the clerk's "little idealism, and all his great and natural craving for comfort and happiness, go into the aspiration of marriage." While single, the clerk hungrily sought entertainment in amusement parks or vaudeville houses, in fishing, in taking girls on excursions, in drinking fantastic quantities of

"Bud," and in reading the Chicago American, especially the sports news.

Although there was little future for a clerk at Field's, it was considered a better than average situation by the clerks. Hackett rejected Field's tenet that it was "profitable to use a man to do the same thing over and over again," because a man's value was sapped by routine labor. From this there was no Algeresque escape, for one could not even see the top of the ladder from the basement; he could not climb many of the rungs.⁴¹ It was the "problem of mere living" that was "the intimate, almost overwhelming" task facing the clerk. The clerk did "not concern himself with the broader, and in the end more essential, problem of his mental and moral development, his mind," which was left to the "mysterious ogre, the public." Public responsibility was disavowed by all individuals. Francois warned each of his readers that "an educated member of the public body" had

⁴¹The concept that man was good or bad depending upon his environment and that the environment grievously limited the majority is a muckrake concept. But Hackett did not regard human nature as a monolithic and passive substance that varied only with the arrows of outrageous environment. He, like the muckrakers, believed that America's social and other institutions were too cold, static and exclusive. Environment could crush the spirit within a man, but to Hackett the same environment could produce a nasty Dan Sullivan and a pleasant Tom Fleming. The same environment had produced Willie Hackett, a Jesuit priest, and the anti-clerical Francois Hackett. George Test, "Vital Connection," p. 44, considers the three articles in The Reader muckraking literature, but finds that Hackett's "observations of the life of the times," similar to those Herbert Croly was making in New York, were more important than the muckraking elements.

to understand that his influence had a "general as well as a personal import."⁴² The clerk was educated by the lessons he learned "on the streets, at the vaudeville show, in the newspapers and magazines," and the public, the individual, ultimately decided what the managers and editors considered profitable to present. In a very real sense, Francis muckraked his readers. Francis' cultural entreaty, through society to the individual, this plea for both substance and meaning in the life of society and society's clerks, was fundamental in Francis' mind and essays.

The clerk worked beneath the sidewalks at age fifteen, mated at twenty-five, and by fifty was that "dreary inveterate we ignore in our literature, our art, our life." Each year, the clerk, a machine, wore down to its least resistance. Francis fervently, didactically, asserted that the heart and brain of man are not mechanical. In the comparatively attractive situation of Field's basement "the outer unpleasant reality does not fully conceal or deaden the heart and soul submerged or the ugly destiny it expresses." His readers should not console themselves by assuming that the clerk was happy because he chose the

⁴²Hackett partly transcends that muckraker concern with individual character and right-living discussed by Stanley K. Schultz, "The Morality of Politics: The Muckrakers' Vision of Democracy," The Journal of American History, LII (December, 1965), 527-547, pp. 528-529. Francis Hackett reached beyond elementary moral concerns to the pragmatic test of the ideas of Armour and Hearst in social action. In 1906 Francis Hackett was prepared for John Dewey's Instrumentalism.

"shelter of a routine job." William Morris had shown twenty years before that work without pleasure produced a life of pain. Francis held that Morris had well described the fate of the "eighteen hundred clerks who are the human pyramid on which two hundred successes in Field's whole-sale house are supported." They lacked money and they lacked leisure. Laboring "lovelessly and dishonestly, their ugly language" became a "symbol of their lives." Society sustained Field's and society created the clerks. Society should not be complacent concerning its "commercial civilization."

Smug, prudish and prim though it was, Francis' second article was superior to general muckrake fare since Francis avoided oversimplifications about the clerk and his employer. Characteristic of the mature Francis Hackett was his attack on the standards society set and tolerated. More important still, he maintained that in the end each individual was responsible. The attitude toward life of both clerk and employer was very important, and not less significant than the related issues of hours, wages and working conditions. One of the important cultural influences on the Chicago clerk was probably William Randolph Hearst's Chicago American.

Hackett's third Reader article, while almost standard muckraking fare, yet more closely resembled his future essays and reviews than it did muckraking literature by Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens or David Graham Phillips. Francis

attacked a significant maker, reflector and distributor of commercial civilization's public opinion, but in judging the Chicago American he was again more social critic than strident raker of muck.

The Chicago American constantly sacrificed its placarded admonitions to avoid exaggeration and careless prose to its prime policy of pleasing "as many as possible." Francis traced the duties of a cub-reporter, demonstrated the kind of news sought by the American, and appraised the paper's standards in getting and presenting that news, but his journalistic and personal design was broader than mere condemnation of Hearst and his newspapers.

Perhaps the expectations of many young men vaguely planning to become reporters, as others planned to climb the ladder from clerkdom to the heavens of big business, reporters audaciously and brilliantly ringing the clarion of truth down upon the heads of evil-doers amidst clamorous public acclaim, reporters slashing with inimitable, biting, and awfully beautiful prose--perhaps this picture was in Hackett's mind as he reported the mean and petty duties of a cub. Perhaps he had become a cub reporter with that dream clouding his own eyes. If so, he soon discovered that the cub's main duty was to get photographs from the unwilling, to ascertain facts that would be ignored or altered in the American's columns, and that the cub's most important talents did not concern accuracy, indignation or poetic metaphor.

The body of Francis' article reported his dawning awareness of American distortion, prevarication and sensationalism. As previously noted, Hackett's politician who opposed "municipal ownership" miraculously became a man with an opinion "on the traction question." The tiny puppy calmly executed by a lone policeman strangely grew into a rabid dog of one hundred and fifty pounds, an attacker of men and women, a beast killed only after a mile chase and a fifty-shot fusillade. Ignazio Sottosanto had described for Francis the small boy's death beneath the streetcar. The American omitted not only the parental anguish from its account, but also Sottosanto's troubled tale of the motor-man's callous removal of the pathetic body with a broom "'like as if it...was a dog'" so that he might speed away. The American's adroit transfer of guilt condemned an unreported angry Italian mob for chasing the streetcar from the scene. The paper considered it more sensational to print the lies of a woman and add some of its own than to accept Hackett's report that the woman's "honeymoon" was of three years duration and blessed by a two year old child. There seemed to be no reason, except incompetence, inaccuracy and indifference, why the story of a lost suitcase was so garbled that every fact was incorrect. Drab stories were embellished with the wildest of incidents and conversations which had not occurred. Sensational columns were more profitable than the truth.

Francis was less interested in charges against personal corruption and particular falsifiers than he was in tracing and fixing responsibility for the false education and entertainment of society by its newspapers. He therefore pictured the assistant editor of the Chicago American not as a monster but as an efficient, kind, good natured man whose newspaper standards were not Hackett's.

Hackett's conclusions sprang from but transcended his American experience. Any reporter, he indicated, had to come to terms with the ethics of "modern journalism." He himself had found that "romantic self-respect" gave "cold consolation" to the reporter who lost his job. It was far easier and sometimes necessary for continued employment "to blink at good taste, truth and honor, and enter the strenuous exhilarating game without moral handicap." Thus, Francis' clerk and Francis' reporter were caught in conditions alien to their original ambitions and beyond their ability to alter. While editors and publishers could rationalize their guilt by pointing to their paper's occasional high blown essays and quotations from Thoreau, the columns and the cub assignments were false and indecent. "When you keep a dog," Hackett observed, "you don't have to bark yourself."

The Chicago American furnished daily approximately one million people with "their sole information about many sides of life, their knowledge of men and affairs, the coloring matter of their vital opinions and convictions." The worker,

the immigrant, the poor in general were educated by the American and thought that the paper was fair to them.

Hearst's Chicago papers carried their messages into other midwestern states and the Hearst teachings were purveyed by the Hearst chain in Boston, New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles. False news--worse, influential fabrications--were fed to the Hearst readers.

Hearst "propaganda" permeated every page of his newspaper, Hackett announced. Hearst editorialist Arthur Brisbane even declared that his employer was the most powerful man in the country. Whether or not Hearst personally was responsible, Francis said, the pervasive influence of his newspaper chain affected all men of any morality who worked on a Hearst paper. Brisbane had also declared that "yellow journalism" was merely "real journalism." Reality, Hackett commented, was as real as the rabid mastiff, the honey-mooning wife, the unprovoked Italian mob, or the purloined chest. The American's public policy was a valiant struggle against class privilege, hypocrisy and crowd misuse of the ballot.⁴³ "A man who twists news to turn

⁴³The attack on "special privilege" is very much a muckraker concern. Revelation of the insidious influence, however, was not tantamount in Hackett's mind to winning the battle. Until the public itself insisted that it be better informed by American newspapers, that businessmen and magazine readers shared responsibility for the social ills of industrial America, Hackett would probably not consider the battle won by public exhortation. He learned at Hull House, if he did not know this before, that "mere information is not enough" and that research had to be "constantly supplemented." Whereas colleges gathered and supplied knowledge, the settlement, Jane Addams had long

votes speaks of war against the crowd that will not think for itself." Hearst gave the "common people" racing news, not information. He was "the champion of the defenseless and ill-educated," and yet he gave them vast amounts of "prurient quack advertisements." This was, Hackett angrily concluded, "'incestuous Herod discoursing of chastity.'"⁴⁴

realized, had "to bring into the circle of knowledge and fuller life, men and women who might otherwise be left outside." Jane Addams, Second Twenty Years, 404-405. Hackett's potential dilemma narrowly escapes the paradox indicated by Schultz's "The Morality of Politics," p. 542, that man had to purify his institutions to release himself from control by those institutions. Such paradoxes, as all social writers perhaps realize who continue to write, are not really so neat as all that, but rather involve instead the number and quality of those swayed to one's point of view. Like the muckraker, Francis Hackett hoped that exposé would lead man to save himself. But this is true of any social critic who writes social criticism. The tough-minded social critics probably do not expect sudden miracles of active public responsibility, but, deciding that their personal alternative--silence--is untenable, continue to write their way out and society's way out of paradoxes. For example, "If the people be governors, who shall be governed," would abstractly seem to render hopeless any attempt at democratic government. Jane Addams and Francis Hackett knew quite enough from experience not to boggle at paradoxes.

⁴⁴W. A. Swanberg, Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst (New York: Charles Scribner's 1961), 173, said "Hearst himself shares the blame for his low reputation because of his disregard for convention and his systematic employment of journalist vulgarity. Those who knew him best understood that he was selfish and ruthless but that he was also moved by sincere generosity and human compassion." Swanberg, pp. 183ff, 230, et passim discusses the Chicago Evening American, Arthur Brisbane, and Hearst politics circa 1906. Swanberg, pp. 240-241, refers to the Hearst papers' casual use of fake photographs and explains, in other circumstances perhaps than Hackett's, the Hearst-chain's political reasons for substituting phrases other than the socialist-sounding "municipal ownership." For muckraking coverage of Hearst in 1906, including Brisbane comments, see p. 246. Hackett and The Reader mildly anticipated Lincoln Steffens and the American Magazine.

In the decade from 1901 to 1911, Francis Hackett discovered and assessed two Americas. One provided the lottery of commercial civilization, offering the values of lawyers, merchants, clerks and sensational newspapers. The second America, first evident to him in Hull House, offered human values and a vital humanitarian faith. Hackett worked and lived a decade in America before he felt other than alien at heart. His story suggests, partially in contrast, the tragic dramas of those immigrants less literate, less fortunate, and less prepared than he for any success in America. Many never encountered the sympathies of Hull House, the assurances that their national culture was valuable in and for the United States, and never learned that a warmer, kinder America existed. Jurgis' jungle was too often their fate.

In 1906, the year Hackett entered Hull House and voiced many of its aspirations and complaints in three articles, he joined the editorial staff of the Chicago Evening Post. He began to discover the America of Lincoln and Whitman,⁴⁵

⁴⁵Hackett, "As an Alien Feels," Invisible Censor, 42-43. Hackett wrote: "From Walt Whitman, eventually, the naturalizing alien breathes in American air [with the help of Hull House]."

"What it means to come at last into the possession of Lincoln, whose spirit is so precious to the social settlement, is probably unintelligible to Lincoln's normal inheritors. To understand this, however, is to understand the birth of loyalty. In the countries from which we come there have been men of such humane ideals, but they have almost without exception been men beyond the pale. The heroes of the people of Europe have not been the governors of Europe. They have been the spokesmen of the governed. But here among America's governors and statesmen was a

of Jane Addams and William James in Hull House, but literary America discovered Hackett only in 1909 when he became the founding editor of the Post's separate book-supplement--the Friday Literary Review.

simple authenticator of humane ideals. To inherit him becomes for the European not an abandonment of old loyalties, but a summary of them in a new. In the microcosm of the settlement perhaps Lincolnism is too simple....But the salt of this American soil is Lincoln. When one finds that, one is naturalized."

CHAPTER III

THE FRIDAY LITERARY REVIEW AND THE CHICAGO LITERARY RENAISSANCE, 1909-1911

"If there is any period one would desire to be born in, is it not the age of Revolution; when the old and the new stand side by side, and admit of being compared; when the energies of all men are searched by fear and by hope; when the historic glories of the old can be compensated by the rich possibilities of the new era? This time, like all times, is a very good one, if we but know what to do with it...."

Ralph Waldo Emerson, The American Scholar.

Hamlin Garland, in search of the literary future of Chicago, of America, of fuel for his own flickering fire, strolled into the offices of the Chicago Evening Post to talk to a "fine, sensitive, scholarly boy quite as good looking as Edward Sheldon," the American playwright. Garland "took an avuncular pleasure" in Francis Hackett's "vivid and charming personality." Hackett's "rosy cheeks, slight figure, and smiling lips made him seem younger than he really was, but he could not have been more than twenty-five or six." Garland realized that despite his youth this "brilliant young Irish journalist" was "a vital figure" on the Post. Garland's friend, Henry Blake Fuller, the "chief literary representative of Chicago's genteel culture," agreed

that Francis was indeed "a brilliant essayist."¹ As Garland's literary compass perhaps informed him, this young immigrant was tending the new garden of literature; but the fruit of Hackett's cultivation would nourish a generation of Chicago writers then unknown to Garland and Henry Fuller.

According to Sherwood Anderson, Francis Hackett and his assistant Floyd Dell were "the literary band masters in Chicago."² It was Anderson's music, not Garland's or Fuller's, that most profited from their conducting. Informed scholars and many of Anderson's literary contemporaries agree that Hackett's was the first insistent voice calling forth the famed and somewhat controversial "Chicago Renaissance," a cultural movement perhaps best characterized in its literary mainstream by Sherwood Anderson, Edgar Lee Masters, Vachel Lindsay, Carl Sandburg, Poetry Magazine and Little Review.³

¹Hamlin Garland, Companions on the Trail: A Literary Chronicle (New York: Macmillan, 1931), 426. The description of Fuller is Bernard Duffey's in his The Chicago Renaissance in American Letters: A Critical History (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1954), 34.

²Sherwood Anderson, Sherwood Anderson's Memoirs (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1942), 251; Sherwood Anderson, "Ben [Hecht] and Burton [Pascoe]," in Sherwood Anderson Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois), p. 1.

³The late Dale Kramer said that Hackett, the "literary young Irish immigrant with a hot temper and a sense of humor [,...]ignited a Chicago Renaissance." Kramer, Chicago Renaissance: The Literary Life in the Midwest, 1900-1930 (New York: Appleton-Century, 1966), 101. Hugh Dalziel Duncan, probing the causes of the Renaissance, decided that a primary requisite had been a "vigorous" and "independent" criticism, which the newspapers, especially the Post, had provided. Duncan, The Rise of Chicago as a Literary Center

Hackett's activity in Chicago was even national in scope and result. It was in Chicago, critic and scholar Alfred Kazin has said, that "the new spirit" of twentieth-century literature "had seemed to emerge first."⁴ Irving Howe believed that "It was only in 1911 [sic], when Francis Hackett became editor of the Friday Literary Review,...that sustained voices began to call for both an indigenous realism and an acceptance of the best in contemporary European writing." Under Hackett and his successors, Howe

from 1885 to 1920: A Sociological Essay in American Culture (Totowa, New Jersey: Bedminster Press, 1964), xiv, xviii. John Chamberlain described Hackett as "The spiritual progenitor of a long line of disputatious Chicago critics of life and letters...." Chamberlain, Farewell to Reform: The Rise, Life and Decay of the Progressive Mind in America (Quadrangle ed., Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), 276. While stressing the existence of a pre-Hackett, genteel literary movement in Chicago, Bernard Duffey did agree with critic Burton Rascoe that the literary renaissance described above did begin when Hackett became the first editor of the Friday Literary Review. It was, Duffey said, the "earliest spokesman" of the "Chicago Liberation," the term, as we shall see, used by Duffey to describe the movement composed of Masters, Sandburg and Anderson, primarily. Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 132, 171. Edgar Lee Masters, The Tale of Chicago (New York: Putnam's, 1933), 198, said of Chicago: "Destined more than any other American city to be an expression of a distinctive American culture, it has allowed its literary tastes to be dictated by the East which in turn has always paid court to England and to Europe....If it had ever had a sound critical direction, it would have cultivated its own culture and talent and thus done for America what nothing beside the written word can do. But not at this time, nor at any time, save for a brief period in the second decade of the twentieth century did Chicago have a literary supplement in any periodical or newspaper. For a time when Francis Hackett conducted for the Chicago Evening Post a literary page of incisive brilliancy [it did.]"

⁴ Alfred Kazin, On Native Grounds: An Interpretation of Modern American Prose Literature (Anchor edition, Garden City: Doubleday, 1956), 138.

added, the FLR became "a first-rate literary paper." To reviewers and readers it "gave literary leadership, calling for a reformation in American writing and teaching the uninitiated to discern the genuinely 'new note.'"⁵

⁵Irving Howe, Sherwood Anderson (New York: William Sloane, 1951), 57-59. Howe added that "above everything else," the FLR "fought the one literary battle of its day that involved risk and commitment: it championed the new realists." Howe, however, examined not Hackett's FLR but Dell's, and decided that the FLR had more "bounce than weight." While Hackett's importance in the Chicago Renaissance seems to be accepted, the importance and value of the renaissance itself is contested. Howard Mumford Jones rejected what he considered Irving Howe's attitude of condescension to the Chicago literary movement that preceded the literary production of the 1920s, with which it is often confused. Jones denied that the Chicago Renaissance was provincial and deficient in its penetration of "'reality.'" In reaction, Jones raised an important issue in twentieth-century intellectual history. Jones believed that "the revolt of the twenties...was culmination rather than beginning." He maintained, for instance, that "far from announcing something new, This Side of Paradise was culmination, not revolution, a late expression of a movement linking art, youth and rebellion...." Jones, The Bright Medusa (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952), 67, 1-9.

The present topic, Hackett and the Chicago Renaissance, is part of this larger debate: How radical was the literary and intellectual change from pre- to post-World War I America. Both Jacques Barzun, The Energies of Art (Vintage edition, New York: Vintage, 1962), 6 et passim, and H. Stuart Hughes, Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890-1930 (New York: Knopf, 1958), support, from a European consideration, the contention that much of the literary and intellectual revolt of the West had occurred sometime prior to 1914. Students of American intellectual history are probably familiar with the argument of Henry F. May's "The Rebellion of the Intellectuals, 1912-1917," American Quarterly, VIII (Summer, 1956), 114-126, and May's excellent study, The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time 1912-1917 (New York: A. Knopf, 1959). According to May the cultural revolution in America began well before World War I. It is not my intention to slight differences between the pre-war and post-war periods, but simply to point out that Hackett in 1909 was in the front ranks of those introducing Americans to the many-faceted cultural revolution of our century. This is perhaps a deeper, more

Francis Hackett joined the Chicago Evening Post in 1906. While there is some confusion concerning the nature of his first assignments at the Post and concerning the actual sequence of his immediate predecessors in charge of its literary pages, Hackett later said that he became literary editor in 1906, immediately succeeding Tiffany Blake as a writer of reviews and literary notes and as editor of the book department, and replacing Roswell Field, the brother of Eugene Field, as an editorialist. Hackett's boss, J. C. Shaffer, gave him twelve to fifteen editorials a week and feature articles of chit chat to write, for which Hackett was paid \$23 a week, later \$28 and, eventually, \$43 weekly. That first year Hackett lived at Hull House, taught night classes, and met Jane Addams and other settlement workers.⁶

durable revolt than the "Half-Century of Revolution" [Eric Goldman, The Crucial Decade--And After, America, 1945-1960 (Vintage edition, New York: Vintage, 1959), 53] to which it is related and with which it is often too simply linked and confused. According to Christopher Lasch, The New Radicalism in America: 1889-1963, The Intellectual as a Social Type (Vintage edition, New York: Vintage, 1967), xiv, xv, the "new radicalism," while "not the same thing as the so-called progressive movement" did take form during the Progressive period. Hackett entered the debate with "Literary Critics," American Mercury, LX (March, 1945), 367-374.

⁶Francis Hackett, "Hull House--A Souvenir," Survey, LIV (June 1, 1925), 275-280. George Test, "The Vital Connection," 45, has pointed out that Dell's account held that Hackett served as a reporter before he was a literary editor. Hackett had been a reporter at the Chicago American. Dell was repeating office gossip. The issue is not of great importance. Dell probably indulged in colorful writing when he said that Hackett, hired as a Post reporter, "was said to have been so poor at that that he was promoted into the editorial department at the age of twenty-three. He

Hackett later described the paper he had joined as "Chicago's genteel evening paper." Dell said that it offered a "conservative policy." The Post, a small circulation, conservative paper, did contain, however, high quality reporting and editing and, avoiding the American's sensationalism, addressed presumably informed readers. In 1906 the Post was read by Chicago's business and professional elite. It was "a seemingly strange place for a Socialist literary reviewer."⁷ The Post's many pages of stockmarket and other

had been apprentice literary editor, and had just become literary editor the year that I came to Chicago [1909]."
 Dell, Homecoming: An Autobiography (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1933), 195. Dell to author July 1, 1967. Hackett was, by the way, about twenty-three when he first joined the Post. The confusion concerning when and from whom to whom the literary editorship changed is equally unimportant to this study. The confusion springs from Kramer's statement that Hackett succeeded, on trial, Henry Fuller, and from Duncan's incorrect description that Fuller had resigned in 1903, with Hackett immediately succeeding him. Duncan, The Rise of Chicago, 144, and p. 157, n. 39. The truth probably is that Blake succeeded Fuller and that both were predecessors of Hackett. Robert M. Lovett said that Fuller had been editor and Blake his assistant before succeeding Fuller. Fuller had made the Post "an important organ of criticism;" he and Blake were critics with "sensibility and taste." But, said Lovett, Hackett and later Dell had connected the Post "with a much more vital literary development in Chicago than that represented by Hamlin Garland, the Cliff Dwellers, and the Institute of Arts and Letters." Robert Morris Lovett, All Our Years (New York: Viking, 1948), 128.

⁷Hackett, "Hull House--A Souvenir," 275-280; Dell, Homecoming, 189. But, Duffey added, Hackett might hope that Post readers would appreciate the "quality of his argument." Duffey credits Hackett with an assumption common to Fabians in general, that something could be gained by addressing those readers who, though hostile in their preconceptions, might at least consider the FLR arguments. Hackett's success in Chicago, Duffey points out, thus far had been "very largely through his contact with the members of The Little Room in whom he found a genuine

economic reports made it a must for the financial gentry, and its advanced culture pleased their wives. Long before Hackett had joined it, the Post had established itself as the "intellectual paper" of Chicago, and since the ninties it had maintained a more literary tone than any other Chicago newspaper.⁸ But the "Liberation" pages of Hackett's Friday Literary Review (FLR) were to be quite different from the "genteel" literary pages of earlier Post literary editors.

The Genteel Tradition and the Liberation⁹

A "continuous wave of literary activity in Chicago" from 1890 to 1920 has been named the "Chicago Renaissance," which was, rather than a rebirth, an expression of "creative forces common to the nation at that time." There were two

friendliness and sympathy." But Hackett did not become a member of the Little Room, although he knew many of its members, until after the FLR began. At any rate, Duffey may be right in suggesting that Hackett simply visualized a readership which was but an "extension" of Chicago's "self-improvement societies." Duffey may be wrong in suggesting that Hackett addressed, as his prime audience, "the dominant, and generally friendly readers of his community--the seeming source of its best hopes." Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 173-174. Between 1906 and 1909 Hackett did gain the respect of Fuller and Blake, and other members of the genteel community, but whether they were the audience he most had in mind is not at all certain.

⁸Kramer, Chicago Renaissance, 104; Duncan, The Rise of Chicago, 143-147, and p. 157, n. 39 and n. 41.

⁹The substance of this brief summary is drawn primarily from Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance. Both topics, the genteel tradition and the writers of the pre-1920 revolt, need a great deal more study. What follows in the present text is simply an effort to account briefly, regrettably almost entirely with impressionistic bits, for the nature of and difference between the two periods and attitudes.

phases, according to Duffey, one beginning in 1890 which lasted until 1910, and a second running from 1910 to 1920. Conditions present in the nation, national issues and divisions that were generally indistinct, were in the windy city "as distinct as city blocks could make them."¹⁰ Literary developments seemed more concentrated and clashes more direct in Chicago.

¹⁰Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 4-7. Again it should be recalled that what Duffey calls the "Liberation," the second phase, is what general readers think of when the term "Chicago Renaissance" is used. In their search for a new lease on the nation's life, Duffey points out, the Chicago writers followed many paths: "...the moral and aesthetic prerogative of an attenuated genteelism...[,/] the claims of a realism extended far and ambitiously beyond its humble origin in descriptive writing...[,/] the world-rejecting precocity of the aesthetes...[,/] a new application of Whitman's unfulfilled claim to a popular poetry," and finally a resort to "outright hostility, inwardness, or shock in an effort to define" one's own character. The Renaissance "included...samples of all these efforts." A late partner in the Renaissance, Harry Hansen, Midwest Portraits: A Book of Memories and Friendships (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1923), 192-193, lumped the chief writers and critics of the nineteenth and twentieth century and many philosophies together in a list that included not only Hackett, Anderson, and Sandburg but also, side by side, Opie Reed, Dunne, Ade, Fuller, and Ernest Poole. Wallace Rice, a Chicago writer from the 'ninties through the Liberation years, in describing the Renaissance in the Post, April 29, 1915, ("Unrolling the Scroll of Chicago's Literary Progress, 1890-1915"), emphasized such people as Mrs. Peattie, Hobart Chatfield-Taylor, Fuller, and Robert Morss Lovett, in a very long list which almost completely ignored the "Liberation" writers. Others named included: Harriet Monroe, Stanley Waterloo, Opie Reed, Will Payne, Ade, John McCutcheon, George Barr McCutcheon, Ben F. McCutcheon (Ben Brace), Brand Whitlock, F. U. Adams, Ben King, G. Horton, E. McGaffey, H. B. Smith, E. Flower, Robert Herrick, James Weber Linn, William Vaughn Moody, Alice Corbin Henderson, Shailer Matthews, Paul Shorey, J. H. Breasted, Rex Beach, Theodore Dreiser, George Horace Lorrimer, Garland, I. K. Friedman, Clarence Darrow, Jane Addams, Miss Clara E. Laughlin, Edith Wyatt, John Vance Cheney, Charles Edward Russell, Edgar Lee Masters, Franklin P. Adams, and others. In 1923, when his

The would-be writer in Chicago had three occupational choices. He could become a newspaper columnist, as Eugene Field, George Ade, and Finley Peter Dunne had done. He could join the genteel-culture establishments; Chicago's effort to achieve a "genteel status" had created a university and various societies seeking a cultural distinction, one that it did attain in Henry Fuller and, oddly, in Garland. The third group of writers, variously employed, included Robert Herrick, who used brutal Chicago in a limited, realistic fiction.¹¹ Dunne, Fuller and Herrick, representing the Chicago writers of the first phase at their best (columnist, leader of the genteel "uplift" movement in literature, and conservative realists), used some forms of realism but were

perspective should have improved and new names have clearly emerged, Rice again concentrated almost entirely on the earlier period and not only again failed to mention Hackett, Dell, or Anderson, but now dropped Dreiser's name from the list. "C. S. M. 19, Oct. 1923" clipping in Wallace Rice Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois). Rice had long reviewed for the Post. See letters c. 1901, Henry Fuller to Wallace Rice, Wallace Rice Papers, Incoming. Rice compiled a "Post" notebook of clippings of his writings in the Post mostly between 1891 and 1901. He gave favorable reviews to W. B. Yeats and other Irish writers. Rice was the son of a former proprietor of the Tremont House. See campaign card, 1903, in "Souvenirs," Second Folder. An unimportant Francis Byrne Hackett letter to Rice exists, Wallace Rice Papers, Incoming.

¹¹Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 7; Duncan, The Rise of Chicago, xvii. From 1895 to 1910 the University of Chicago had been a creative center, including James Weber Linn, Robert Morris Lovett, Donald Richberg, Moody, Herrick, Norman Hapgood, and others among its writers. Duncan, The Rise of Chicago, p. 119. The third group, connected with the University, included mostly Harvard intellectuals.

crippled in ways the writers of the second phase did not accept.¹²

Dunne's best was superior to that of his fellow columnists, Field and Ade. Since the 1890's Dunne's Mr. Dooley had sometimes attained a "creative freedom and dramatic reality" which occasionally made common experience articulate. George Ade, praised by both Fuller and Garland in the 1890's, had been drawn by success from his earlier realism to become a "master gagwriter," and thus sacrificed his earlier concern with experience.¹³

The serious writer since 1890 had been almost driven into the genteel tradition which nationally had pressured Twain, censured Whitman, and in 1909 controlled leading literary magazines like the Atlantic and Century. Chicago had seemed on its way to becoming a center of genteel culture, with its Columbian Exposition, the University of Chicago, Theodore Thomas' symphony, Francis Fisher Browne's Dial, the Art Institute, the public libraries, and the private libraries, Crerar and Newberry. Heirs to the "New England ethical tradition," these institutions became the basis for an "eastern genteel" culture in Chicago, asserting the values of taste and manners against commercialism. Henry Fuller in

¹² While far more radical culturally and politically than any of them, Hackett in the main was intellectually tolerant of the leading writers of the first phase, finding significance in Herrick especially.

Herrick defended that New England culture he had known. Herrick, "Myself," 7, Robert Herrick Papers (University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois), Box 29.

¹³ Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 18-21, 23-26.

1897 had identified their "upward" movement as a struggle for that which Boston took for granted; genteel Chicago wanted to solve the problem of living as a community.¹⁴

Hobart Chatfield-Taylor and Slason Thompson had voiced the genteel movement in their highly conservative, anti-immigrant, anti-plutocratic magazine, America. This nineteenth-century journal had usually identified its defense of the aristocratic in taste with its defense of "romanticism" against the "realists." Its savant-heroes were New England writers; realism was alien, socialist and antinomian. Chatfield-Taylor dumped the anarchists Zola, Rosseau, and Voltaire in one cart and sent them all to hell.

¹⁴Ibid., 27. According to Duffey, Fuller had not overstated the issue, for "if one were to subtract from the life of the present day city all that the upward movement gave to it, one might have some notion of the moral and intellectual wilderness which faced the aspirant to 'higher things' of Fuller's time." The Civic Federation, the Art Institute, and the University of Chicago did bring to the city its first supra-materialistic examination. Moreover, it was "the upward movement" which "first defined the Chicago literary renaissance and made a place for Fuller, Herrick, Garland, Hobart Chatfield-Taylor, Harriet Monroe, Edith Wyatt, Joseph Kirkland, and the other Chicago writers." Ibid., p. 31. It also, as we shall see, made a place for Hackett and supported his supplement. Hackett's attack on commercial Chicago in his Readers magazine articles in 1906 had been part of the "upward movement" as well as in the muckraking vogue, but it should be remembered that those articles were in argument more suggestive of Thorstein Veblen than of either of these two movements. While Hackett accepted, as we shall also see, some of these writers such as Fuller, Wyatt, Herrick and Monroe, with sometimes qualified enthusiasm, he rejected others such as Hobart Chatfield-Taylor and Browne's Dial. The reader should bear in mind that the writing from 1872 to 1890 produced at least a dozen novels which focused on that important rural to urban migration and transition to a degree experienced by no other area in America. Duncan, The Rise of Chicago, 9.

Among others, Edith Wyatt and young Harriet Monroe shared much of the genteel influence of America but did not partake of its political and racial panic. America wanted writers like Dickens, not Tolstoy, Zola, or Henry James.¹⁵

From 1880 to 1915, however, the genteel approach to literature was more sanely and more ably voiced in Francis Fisher Browne's Dial, on which Hackett was, significantly, to declare war. William Morton Payne wrote and solicited for the Dial able conservative reviews of contemporary fiction. For Francis Fisher Browne the standards of literature were timeless and exemplified by the nineteenth-century greats. The Dial had criticized the American and British dismissal of Oscar Wilde, had somewhat accepted Whitman, and found its hero in Longfellow. Twentieth-century writers tended to confirm Browne's suspicion of decay in the great New England tradition.¹⁶ Only partly concerned with litera-

¹⁵Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 61-63; Duncan, The Rise of Chicago, 5.

¹⁶While not as limited as Chatfield-Taylor, Browne's allegiance to the upward movement was not disturbed by any radicalism such as Garland's populism. Although the publishers Stone and Kimball had produced a magazine supported by Chicago's genteelists, the Chapbook, where interest in foreign literature transcended the confines of borrowed gentility, the magazine no longer existed when Hackett arrived. Instead, Hackett confronted the genteel-cultural reviews and essays printed by the Dial and newspaper reviewers like Mrs. Elia Peattie. Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 69. Duncan, The Rise of Chicago, 60-65, points out that writers for the Chapbook had included Max Beerbohm, H. G. Wells, W. B. Yeats, Thomas Hardy, Garland, Stephen Crane, George Cable, Edith Wyatt, George Ade, and F. P. Dunne.

ture, the genteel movement in Chicago rejected all that "did not suit its taste."¹⁷

Garland's Rose of Dutcher's Coolly (1895), a Chicago-based story and the last of Garland's realistic novels, constituted the only significant literary work Garland produced in Chicago. The "upward movement" had lost much of its literary energy by 1905, but Garland, Fuller and others continued to write, and Browne's Dial lived for another decade. Although the movement later financed Poetry and gave early, vital support to youths such as Hackett, as an attitude and as literature it was barren by 1909. Fuller refused to join the Cliff Dweller's Club organized by Garland in 1907. The famous club generated no artistic creation and failed to achieve that position sought by the genteelists, that of cultural mentors between business Chicago and the masses.¹⁸

Even as a member of the genteel "upward movement's" attack on Chicago philistia, Henry Blake Fuller had maintained an "ironical play of tone about the uplifters." Born into the third Chicago generation of a New England family, Fuller, a solitary, eccentric bachelor, had become the "chief literary representative of Chicago's genteel culture." He had to live in a Chicago antagonistic to the taste, manners, and emotions he relished. Often considered a snob, yet a

¹⁷Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 72.

¹⁸Ibid., 85, 74. Hackett had first read Garland's Rose in 1870's in Ireland. Hackett to Garland, December, 1911, Garland, Companions on the Trail, 456ff.

man who wrote genuinely from within himself and even realized his limitations, Fuller had answered William Dean Howell's call of the 1880's so well in his two realistic novels, The Cliff Dwellers (1893) and With the Procession (1895), that Howells had warmly praised them. Not without some awareness of the complexity of the business culture, Fuller, however, played it against his genteel values for essentially non-realistic results.¹⁹ Fuller, at home with neither laborer nor businessman, could portray the latter's wife. To Fuller the gentry, tycoons, and even the immigrants were all tainted. In his novel With the Procession Chicago pursued meaningless goals. His later work ultimately confessed that a personal escape from this prison was impossible. Fuller's sympathy and his understanding were

¹⁹Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 34-35, 40. The following selections from a letter written to Fuller by Tiffany Blake in 1918 not only provide a sense of the limitations in genteel-realism but also an interesting view of Hackett's predecessors. Blake told Fuller that one of his chief resentments against Chicago, where he had been born in 1870 at 18th and Prairie, was that Fuller had not written as "many delightful pages" as he would have "in a more urbane environment." Blake added: "The gifts you possess are too rare and possess too much of color to flourish in your Chicago....There is nothing on which a genius so sophisticated and yet vital, so keen yet so graceful and gracious can unfold itself fully for our refreshment. God knows we need the mordant criticism your delicate ironies convey. I know that no one has evaluated social Chicago at least in some of its most significant phases as you have done in... novels and certain of your short stories. I know they express your gift for realism and for pungent satire, but you have more than these--above them, the gift of beauty. Perhaps Chicago, years in Chicago overlaid it except as it expresses itself irrepressibly in the grace and felicity of your style." Tiffany Blake to Henry Blake Fuller, April 4, 1918, in Henry Blake Fuller Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois), Incoming.

limited; he avoided what was "new" for "refuge in a forbidding precision of manner."²⁰ While escape was not possible, Fuller was not completely isolated.

The most important and in some ways the most durable sanctuary built by the "upward movement" was The Little Room. Since around 1898 The Little Room group had, following the Friday matinee symphony concert, held regular meetings in Ralph Clarkson's studio on the tenth floor of the Fine Arts Building. There the "artistic elite" of Chicago talked informally about literature and art, gossiped, or were entertained. Fuller and Garland were its two leading literary figures.²¹ The Little Room's importance, according to Duffey, was "in the degree to which it both comprised and symbolized the largest official acceptance of the arts as a living cultural force which Chicago

²⁰Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 43-45, 48, 50. This is not to minimize the fact that, in a very important way, Herrick, Fuller, and Ade had all been concerned with urban life. Duncan, The Rise of Chicago, 80.

²¹The Little Room included Clarkson, Lorado Taft, C. Francis Browne, the Hobart Chatfield-Taylors, Anna Morgan, and Ralph Fletcher Seymour, all residents of the Fine Arts Building. Among the other members were: Lucy and Harriet Monroe, the publishing partners of Stone and Kimball, the architectural brothers, A. B. and I. K. Pond, Louis Sullivan, Emerson Hough, I. K. Friedman, Elia Peattie, Keith Preston, H. K. Webster, Wallace Rice, Alice Gestenberg, and Clara Laughlin. Keeping a relation somewhat distant were Chicagoans like Robert Herrick and various cultural visitors to Chicago. Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 51-53.

had been able to achieve." The Little Room served its members as a bridge to²² or perhaps a substitute for society.

The first phase of the Chicago Renaissance was also characterized by a strain of realism imported from the East, from Europe, and one perhaps influenced by the western realists of the seventies and eighties. While Dreiser and Anderson may or may not have been influenced by European realists, Robert Herrick had clearly learned from deMaupassant and Tolstoy. Slowly realism was accepted over opposition from both highbrow and popular criticism.²³ The fiction of the conservative realists attacked the life about them; Garland, Fuller and Herrick were "predominantly ethical in their concern." Proving that commercial Chicago violated the

²²"Though the tea might be laced a little with brandy, the emotional tone heightened with whispers of illicit love affairs, hoped for or real, the importance of a mannerly atmosphere was as important to the group as its devotion to the artistic life." While it lasted until 1931, the Little Room's real force began to decline after 1910. The writers also had made the Contributor's Club something of a bridge to their society. Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 54-56. Duncan, The Rise of Chicago, 12, emphasized the genteel writers' failure "to produce an organic connection with the people of the Chicago region."

²³See Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 91ff for a discussion of the course of realism through both phases of the Renaissance. He discusses Kirkland, Payne, Moody, Lovett, and Friedman in the early phase. In the twentieth century, however, as Duncan indicates, The Rise of Chicago, 120-121, the University's literary critics tended in their writings to deal more and more with only the literature of the past and to use the classics as literary standards.

New England ethic, the pre-Liberation Chicago realists were "ethical realists." William Vaughn Moody and Robert Morss Lovett wrote for an "idealism" created by their "New England training." Moody's writing, while drawing substance from the ordinary world, contrasted that world's amoral culture with his own morality.²⁴ These realists were hostile aliens in the world they witnessed; they were "not radicals but unpopular conservatives."²⁵

The genteel generation of writers in Chicago, born into urban, upper-class homes, had learned childhood lessons of social conformity, taste, and "inward idealism;" the writers of the second phase came mostly from small towns where they had been raised "under a...tradition of individual independence."²⁶ Hackett's childhood, respectable though somewhat radical, coupled with his rich and bitter experience of immigration and five years of exposure to a rapidly urbanizing, industrial America, enabled him to understand both generations of writers. Most writers of the "Liberation" came from small towns like Davenport, Iowa. Floyd Dell, Hackett's

²⁴Moody could provide a happy ending for "The Brute," for instance, because he believed man to be inherently good in a rotten world. Moody, like Herriok and Lovett, was a contemporary of both Veblen and John Dewey at the university, but he was unaware of their work. His response was "instinctive and emotional," rather than intellectual. Even for Payne, Friedman, and Lovett the primary topic of fiction was moral man in an amoral environment. See Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 100-101, 105, 107, 109.

²⁵Ibid., 112.

²⁶Ibid., 139.

assistant and successor at the FLR, later described such migrations from the rural heartland to Chicago. In an autobiographical novel, Moon-Calf, Dell (Felix Fay) decided that Davenport had been made for "growing up in," but the railway station's map showed maturing youth all the iron roads of the Midwest converging on "a dark blotch in the corner;" the blotch's name became a refrain running through his mind: "'Chicago! Chicago!'"²⁷ Dell's second autobiographical novel, The Briary Bush (1921), told of Fay's compulsion to leave the world of theories for the "real world" symbolized by Chicago. Chicago had become a challenge in which Fay could "become a different person," a "man of action."²⁸ Davenport youth were encouraged to become the "'right sort' of young fellow," and Fay rebelled against a world "devoted to money-making and...always trying to make young people in- to its own image."²⁹

²⁷Floyd Dell, Moon-Calf: A Novel (New York: Macaulay, 1920), 304.

²⁸Floyd Dell, The Briary Bush (New York: A. Knopf, 1921), 4.

²⁹Floyd Dell, Homecoming MSS, 303-304, in Floyd Dell Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois). One of the most inclusive descriptions of reasons behind migration to Chicago, by a man who did not become part of the Liberation in Chicago, is Thomas Hart Benton's statement: "When I went to Chicago in 1907, I was drawn by many things quite unconnected with the business of making a living. Although I declared to my parents that my main purpose was to study art and to get rich in a big-time newspaper job, and although in a vague way, I meant this, the prime thing that motivated my urge toward the city was deeper. Chicago promised escape from a certain uneasiness I had been feeling for some time in the presence of the respectable society of

The sense of rebellion most separated the Liberation from the earlier phase of the renaissance. Duffey chose this useful title, the "Liberation," to distinguish this generation of Chicago writers not only from its "genteel predecessors" but also "from the increasingly pessimistic, irrationalist, aesthetically conscious attitude of those who in part inherited" and partly "repudiated" this movement. Mingling with the other currents of the "Liberation" was the critical writing of the 'literary radicals,' a radicalism deeply concerned with individualism. The new spirit of this generation, involving "politics, morality, psychology, arts or letters, sought characteristically for a liberation of the

my home country. Because of my family I was closely tied to this society....

"It is a vague thing, without any really substantial or reasonable cause, which comes stealing, like a mist, over the years of an artist's adolescent self-concern, where the inability to conform to accepted patterns, so characteristic of the imaginative in a practical society, brings up brooding suspicions of unfitness along with a moody dissatisfaction....

"Every artist in the world of 'practical' men shares somewhat the uneasiness I describe, but those who came out of the Middle West at the beginning of the century, I imagine, have had a larger dose than all others. There was, throughout the great valley of the Mississippi, from the eighteenth-eighties up to the Great War, the most complete denial of aesthetic sensibility that has probably ever been known. That natural human interest in the simple nature of things which is possessed to some degree by all men, was crushed almost utterly in favor of a short-range philosophy of action...." The permeating philosophy of the exploiters had crushed this "human interest" and while Benton's father "accepted the pattern of the parvenu society," the radicals, the "philosophers, artists, writers, musicians, for the most part ran in a body to the cities, to New York and Chicago." It was not merely a desire to escape, however; when Benton "began to itch for Chicago" he was irritated by a buried desire for association with his "own kind." Thomas Hart Benton, An Artist in America (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1937), 23-27.

individual." Duffey decided that the "idea of a liberation was the chief fructifying force."³⁰

Whether we accept or reject Duffey's contention that the second generation was only another branch of the same tree which had produced the first, it is clear that, unlike Hackett, the main writers of the Liberation, Carl Sandburg, Sherwood Anderson, Vachel Lindsay and Edgar Lee Masters, were either unaware of or disproportionately antagonistic toward the earlier Chicago movement. During the years 1910 to 1915 the literary climate of Chicago changed as the genteel movement withered and the "liberated intellectual bohemians" began production with all the vigor of a new, young plant.³¹

³⁰The Liberation writers "took root in the city which business had built only because in the city's fissures, which were its social and intellectual bohemia, lay the soul which could nourish a fully liberated and romantic will. The earlier generation had tried to plant in the middle of an urban ground, but the later felt more surely the barrenness that was there." Different from the realists of the genteel generation, the Liberation described the writer as a man estranged from contemporary American society. Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 140-142, 112.

³¹In 1910 Fuller and Garland were "still active in Chicago, The Little Room flourishing, Robert Herrick still at the University and active as a writer, William Vaughn Moody still living,...and the Dial firmly in the hands of Francis Fisher Browne and his son....By 1915, however, Garland was leaving for New York, The Little Room was nearly through its spontaneous life, Herrick had departed for York Village, Maine, and his novels of despair, Moody was dead, and the Dial was on the verge of sale. To these casualties, one may add the sale of H. S. Stone and Co. in 1905, the departure of Will Payne and I. K. Friedman from Chicago journalism in 1907 and 1908, the earlier columnists' evacuation of the city by 1900." By 1915, on the other hand, most of the names of the Liberation were evident. Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 131-133. Masters, lonely in Chicago,

When Hackett began editing the FLR in 1909, the genteel movement was still active. Except that both phases of the Chicago Renaissance came from the "romantic and idealistic protest against the doctrine of the good life which the nineteenth and twentieth century world of business preached, the exclusive gospel of work and wealth," except that both engaged in the "same ethical action," Professor Duffey agreed with critic Burton Rascoe that the Liberation had begun with Hackett and the Friday Literary Review. The first phase had used "uplift and reform," while the Liberation, chose "separation and rebellion." Because it was more radical than its predecessor, the Liberation not only denied relation to it but tended to identify it with the enemy. Of course, it may be that such an identification had more justice than Professor Duffey has recognized. The Liberation, optimistic, romantic and rebellious, would in turn be disregarded by the Chicago writers of the 1920's who were more at home with dada and naturalism. There was, however, in that literature coursing from Fuller through the writers of the twenties a common emphasis on the liberation and identification of the individual. While the genteelists had sought this identification through Mathew Arnold's dictum concerning the best thought and said, the Liberation wanted to free the artist

knew of the societies and writers, of the activity at the University, but did not know how to meet Moody and the others. Only around 1913 did he enter Chicago's literary life. Edgar Lee Masters, Across Spoon River: An Autobiography (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936), 266, 284, 336ff.

from any dogmas, including Arnold's, which might hinder individualism.³²

The writers of the Liberation, beginning about 1913, "were represented by a series of groups bohemian in manner and liberated in spirit." The Bohemia was epitomized by the separate studios of Dell and Margery Currey, his wife, at 57th Street and Stony Island Avenue, where Veblen had once lived, where Dell entertained Theodore Dreiser who promptly told H. L. Mencken about the Liberation, and where Karl introduced his brother, Sherwood Anderson. Vachel Lindsay, already grateful to Hackett's FLR, and FLR reviewer Margaret Anderson, soon to found the famed Little Review, made contact with the group. When Dell left for New York other members of the Bohemia assumed leadership, Anderson, Maxwell Bodenheim and Ben Hecht among them. While Francis Hackett was not at all bohemian his FLR is rightly recognized as the Liberation's "earliest spokesman."³³

³²Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 131-133.

³³While "Poetry marked for the Liberation an achievement of status," and the "Little Review...held up a mirror to its soul," the "Friday Literary Review supplied a rationale for it." Anderson "was to be, perhaps, the most fully characteristic writer of the Liberation." Although Sandburg came to the Daily News long after Hackett had departed Chicago, Hackett directly affected at the New Republic the national success of Sandburg, as well as Masters and Anderson. Lindsay, who stumbled "upon the Chicago movement as a result of reading the Friday Literary Review," recognized his debt to Hackett. Margaret Anderson perhaps first made real connection with the new movement when she began reviewing books for Hackett's supplement. Even Ben Hecht considered Hackett one of the leading lights. Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 171, 189-191, 233. Margaret Anderson, My Thirty Years War, p. 22. Ben Hecht, A Child of the

The Liberation, including Lindsay, Masters, Anderson and Sandburg as its leading lights, men who shared a certain "midwestern romanticism," was productive in other areas besides novels, poetry and little magazines; for example it affected the newspapers and theaters. Maurice Browne followed Anna Morgan's earlier theater in emphasizing beauty; both were "uplifters," striving to elevate "the taste of their audience to a preconceived level of perfection" rather than expressing what was "common and indigenous to the intellectual life of their time and place." Perhaps, therefore, the deeper theatrical roots of the Liberation were in Hull House theater founded in 1900, influencing many of the Liberation leaders, Hackett and Dell among them, and emphasizing "plays of a sociological cast and a liberated point of view." Like the FLR it provided "an intellectual rather than an art-theater tone" and voiced "a social and intellectual attitude...rather than...a deep artistic commitment for its own sake." Later centers of the Liberation included the Daily News and Schlogl's restaurant. By 1920 the Liberation had itself yielded to the "Twenties," Chicago ceasing to lead literary change. Rascoe's Tribune pages (1917-1920) were perhaps "a last feature of the later renaissance;" Harry Hansen of the Daily News showed great interest in the

Century (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), identified Hackett as one of the leading critics he devoured as a youth. See Lindsay's letters to Dell: Undated /1909/; January 21, 1910, September 13, 1911; December 1, 1912 (renewing his subscription), Floyd Dell Papers, (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois).

national movement. By 1926 the old writers had gone and no new ones had yet arrived. In its later stages the renaissance had moved away from the idealism of Hackett and Dell to Ben Hecht's "nihilistic dadaism" which could be considered "precisely the measure of its exhaustion."³⁴

The achievements of the Liberation have been summarized in the following fashion:

Before it marched off to war, the generation coming to manhood in 1910 was to produce in Chicago the greatest movement in American poetry since the great New England days. It also revolutionized the novel, created the 'little theater'...gave new directions to American criticism, and more than any other city in America, gave characteristic form to the new urban language of America. The famous revolt of the younger generation which flamed to greatness in the work of Hemingway and T. S. Eliot originated in Chicago where writers were determined to bring literature back into life.³⁵

³⁴Duffey, The Chicago Renaissance, 237-241, 246-249, 257-259. Kramer, Chicago Renaissance, 309, held that the "Chicago Renaissance, if defined as a movement of vigorous intellectual activity, reached its crest in 1915-1916 with Master's Spoon River and Sandburg's Chicago Poems and the magazine appearances of Anderson's Winesburg stories.... By 1921, after Sandburg's Cornhuskers and Smoke and Steel, Anderson's Poor white and The Triumph of the Egg, and Dell's Moon-Calf...the stream was no longer vigorous." See also Kramer, Chicago Renaissance, 310, 336, et passim, 342, 346, et passim. Kramer points out that later generations would mistakenly associate the Renaissance with the 1920's, but it was, said Kramer, a war casualty, lingering on until the depression. Then a "new generation of Chicago novelists sprang up in the late twenties and early thirties, influenced to some degree by the Renaissance-makers, but their heritage and the times made a wide difference. They were city-nurtured rather than products of small towns or intellectuals from abroad, and they tended to portray the ethnic groups from which they had emerged...." Kramer's examples include: James T. Farrell, Meyer Levin, Richard Wright, Nelson Algren and Albert Halper.

³⁵Duncan, The Rise of Chicago, 145.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with this appraisal, the Chicago Renaissance was a pre-1920's literary and intellectual movement of great importance to twentieth-century American culture. Young Francis Hackett had high expectations when he launched the Friday Literary Review in 1909, but he did not know that he would introduce a literary movement far greater and more successful than that "Chicago School" which William Dean Howells had acclaimed in 1903. Although he fervently called for a "new spirit," Hackett did not know that writers and scholars would agree with the critic Burton Rascoe and the novelist Sherwood Anderson that it was Francis Hackett "who first brought the new light to Chicago."³⁶

Hackett's FLR: Enlightenment in the Suburbs

At the end of his long journey from Davenport to Chicago, Dell found his friend Charles T. Hallinan, a Chicago Post writer. Although Dell had earlier scorned Hull House as an institution of bourgeois idealism, the young Davenport immigrant, as Hackett had before him, entered this humanitarian haven, clutched at its spirit and soon found himself teaching an English class twice a week.³⁷ Dell used the Post as a base of operation while job-hunting and eventually joined it. Adjacent to the editorial office "was the cubicle of the literary editor, a short, stocky, young

³⁶The quote is Duffey's The Chicago Renaissance, 180.

³⁷Dell, The Briary Bush, 24-34.

Irishman, Francis Hackett," his "quizzical face" appearing on occasion at editorial bull sessions.

Dell learned of the Post "tradition of intellectual brilliance which, in lieu of sensational qualities was... an important part of its stock-in-trade." While it "specialized in financial news, and the reading of it was an established habit" among the elite, "intellectual brilliance" was "to be had only--in those days--from employees whose views were not conservative at all," and the paper hoped its writers would accept "reasonable limits." Hallinan had learned "to say forbidden things in innocent and unimpeachable ways." But Hackett, using the "presumed freedom of literary matters from editorial policy,...wrote in a way that did not even pretend to square with the conservative policy of the paper...."³⁸

Under Hackett literary matters became political and social affairs. "But," Dell recalled, "Hackett had an incisive way of writing which had given him great prestige among intelligent readers." Resenting "the merest shadow of inference" as he did, the Post yet gave Hackett "enough rope" and hoped "he wouldn't hang the paper with it." In 1909 "quite a lot of brand-new rope was going to be given to him--the literary page was to be turned into a supplement, like the New York Times Literary Review...."³⁹

³⁸Dell, Homecoming MSS, 342-347. Occasionally this manuscript version at Newberry Library is cited because some names and phrases which are deleted from the printed version are included.

³⁹Dell, Homecoming, 189.

As early as 1907 Hackett had become an established literary voice in Chicago. Although he still addressed the New York publisher Ben Huebsch with formality in his letters, Hackett had gained Huebsch's attention.⁴⁰ In Chicago, at twenty-four, Hackett had attracted sufficient notice through the Post, perhaps Hull House, and presumably through his friendship with Fuller and Tiffany Blake⁴¹ to be considered by the "Provisional Committee" of the Attic Club in July 30, 1907, as a potential charter member of that new organization.⁴² Even before the Friday Literary Review began,

⁴⁰By September 3, 1910, Hackett was addressing the letters to "My Dear Huebsch". Hackett apologized in the spring of 1907 for not having given Huebsch's books the attention they deserved during the previous year, but the year had been a difficult one in the Post's literary department; Hackett had filled in here and there for men too sick to work. Francis Hackett to "Dear Mr. Huebsch," on Post stationery, April 1, 1907, in Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 12, Folder 1907-1920. Alfred Harcourt later became a friend of Hackett when Harcourt made selling trips to Chicago for Henry Holt. Hackett made the FLR "the most brilliant review in the West." Alfred Harcourt, Some Experiences (Riverside, Connecticut: Ellen Knowles Harcourt, 1951), 17.

⁴¹Telephone interview, Fanny Butcher with author, August 2, 1967. Hackett was often at the home of Tiffany Blake on weekends. Hackett, a bright, good looking Irishman, was in great demand socially. He lacked, she thought, the easy, social charms of Byrne. Hackett said that his acceptance of invitations was limited by the laundry bill. Francis Hackett, "The Rolling Stone," New York World (October 16, 1922), 11.

⁴²On the list of those attending the first annual dinner, however, chaired by Garland on January 17, 1908, Hackett's name is not present. See "Attic Club" material in Little Room Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois). Hackett's name was not on the original typed list of potential members but, as with other names, added later. Hackett's name is pencilled in under "Suggested Names, Miscellaneous."

therefore, Hackett had held or gathered an audience for his literary criticism.⁴³

One day soon after Dell joined the Post and wrote his first review for Hackett's literary page, Hackett told him

⁴³It is this study's concern to examine the FLR under Hackett as a radical organ of national significance. Hackett's work at the Post prior to March, 1909, is, therefore deliberately slighted. His critical writings before the FLR had already begun to emphasize that European literature which was honestly critical of society and contemporary life. He had written largely favorable essays on Ibsen, Anatole France, H. G. Wells, G. B. Shaw, and John Galsworthy prior to March, 1909. His essay on Galsworthy's A Commentary had become a critical comment on bourgeois assumptions regarding fashion, comfort and power. Less persuaded by Wells' First and Last Things than was Dell, Hackett had held that the heretical philosophy of this idealist and socialist did require examination. Hackett attacked G. K. Chesterton's The Man Who Was Thursday for its anti-revolutionary tenets. Surely Chesterton was a fat man who had never known despair. Hackett also impatiently dismissed Barrett Wendell's Pri-
vileged Classes for its narrow discourse on the special "privileges" of the lower classes such as the straddling of two seats on a Boston trolley car. Hackett was significantly disturbed by the enthusiastic reception that Nietzsche and his Superman concept received from this young H. L. Mencken and even American socialists. Mencken had over-rated the confused thoughts of Friedrich Nietzsche, and the Superman theme in Jack London's The Iron Heel troubled Hackett. London opposed the present system, but he also glorified the brute and the bully.

While Hackett earnestly attacked the prevailing commercial and political order in Chicago, his interests transcended local or national matters. He suggested that the philosophical reader examine Vernon Lee's Gospels of Anarchy. Gorky's The Spy was informative on the extradition of Russian revolutionists. August Forel's The Sexual Question was forthrightly but gently presented. The prison novel 9009 by James Hopper and Fred R. Bechdolt contained justifiable realism. On the other hand, Hackett sometimes stooped to praise entertainment as provided by John Fox, Jr.'s The Trail of the Lonesome Pine, Zona Gale's Friendship Village and Kenneth Graham's The Wind in the Willows. Hackett was also deliberately and overly generous to local writers such as the then "socialist" heir to the Tribune, Joseph Medill Patterson, and the university's Robert Herrick. Patterson's A Little Brother of the Rich (1908), while lacking craft, had the spirit which could not be learned, but Patterson did need to

about the debut of his literary supplement. He asked Dell if he would like to be his assistant: "'That means,' said Hackett,...'That you will have a hell of a lot of books to review--unsigned stuff--all the dirty work. You will wash up the dishes in the kitchen, while I sit in the parlor and discourse enlightenment to the suburbs.'" ⁴⁴

Francis Hackett, having served his literary apprenticeship since 1906, brought out the first issue of his FLR on March 5, 1909. Inauspiciously begun, it quickly acquired a Midwestern and an Eastern audience. Unaware that a Chicago Renaissance was to come and that the new American literature

learn art. Art was not too much longer than life. Hackett cheered Herrick's attack on the crude cupidity of the men who had built Chicago and on their progeny. He praised Herrick's Together with less strain and more justice than possible with Patterson's novel. Hackett accepted Herrick's picture of the restless, eager, inquisitive women married to the smug, short-sighted, stultified Chicago businessmen. This pre-FLR criticism is partly surveyed in Kramer, Chicago Renaissance, 104-107. Hackett also approved the praise given Fuller and Edith Wyatt as social historians of Chicago. See clipping, "Literary Small Talk" in "Biographical and Critical Material Concerning" her, in Edith Wyatt Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois). Patterson thanked Hackett in the preface to his Rebellion (1911), for the help Hackett had given him. Kramer, Chicago Renaissance, 149.

Hackett said that his autobiographical account "American Rainbow," a manuscript presumably in his wife's possession, dealt much with Joseph Patterson as well as Blake, Jane Addams, Janet Fairbanks, and others. Hackett to Lloyd Lewis, October 28, 1948, in "Development Requests File," (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois).

⁴⁴ Dell, Homecoming, 190. Dell to author, May 18, 1967, indicates that Hackett did not particularly want Dell as his assistant, but accepted him due to pressure from Charles Hallinan and others.

would be an integral part of an intellectual revolt, Hackett, perhaps the first journalist in modern American criticism to do so without stint, with all the purpose of a new river cutting a channel, called for, stimulated, encouraged, and approved the writers and the persuasions of "renaissance" and revolt.⁴⁵

The first issue of the FLR, a supplement which would be far more radical than its established rival, the New York Times Literary Review, made no announcement of its own

⁴⁵As Fanny Butcher, who replaced Hascoe at the Tribune, 1922, pointed out recently, this was a bold step for owner and editors of the Post. Telephone interview with author, July, 1967. Only one other newspaper supported a similar supplement in the entire country. Dell's picture of his and Hackett's superiors and colleagues might not lead one to expect initial or continued support of the radical FLR. Perhaps Hackett, with the aid of Fuller, Blake and other genteelists, persuaded the editors. Dell described the Post's Julian Mason, main editorial writer, as "a good-looking, well set up young man, with a Yale background, vaguely apprehended good-family connections distinctly conventional ways of dressing" which made Dell decide Mason's sympathies were "too 'leisure class.'" Eddie Clark, tall "thin, elderly, vastly experienced, gentle and quite unconsciously cynical," was the "other member of the editorial staff....The managing editor, Leigh Reilly, the tall, middle-aged, anxious, physically nervous, appealingly amiable ringmaster of these intellectual performers, stopped in to bestow a benediction, or offer a suggestion, or hint a warning now and then." Mason was "genuinely a liberal conservative, hitting always the right note," and Clark was "unimpassioned, descriptive, non-controversial," quite the opposite of Hallinan, Hackett and Dell. The stories about the owner of the paper, if true, did not at all promise such a liberal venture as the FLR, except for his reputed haziness about all the material in the Post except the financial section. Rumor had it that Reilly had to calm the owner down at times, explaining, for example that the doctrine of evolution was even accepted by many Baptist ministers, and generally convincing him that a certain passage did not say what it said. It was "clear that the proprietor was not in sympathy with the actual intellectual content of his paper." Dell, Homecoming MSS. Lucy Huffaker had thought the Post the "whitest shop to work

existence or intentions; it contained no list of editors or reviewers. Only on the fourth page of the second issue was Hackett identified as editor and the FLR's devotion to "criticism of current literature, the publication of literary comment and of book news" announced. Hackett stressed the advantages of the separate supplement form. It would be "indispensable" in providing information on contemporary "English and American literature" and the "small talk of the publishers and the personalia of authors," but dispensing information was only a minor part of FLR's intentions. The "critical standards of the Evening Post," Hackett said, "will, as they have been, be both catholic and scrupulous," and FLR reviews would be written by "experts." Recognizing that his first editorial requirement was to "make book reviews interesting," Hackett also promised "to maintain a standard against all mercenary and complacent considerations...."⁴⁶

FLR reviews would manifest "an editorial concern in the art" that books possessed "and the ideas they contain, and their relation to life and the democracy."⁴⁷ At the end of its first half-year Hackett asserted that unlike most "book criticism" the FLR, "neither commercial nor academic," regarded books "as the vital record of contemporary thought and

in that anyone will ever find." Lucy Huffaker to Floyd Dell, from Paris, January 26, 1909, in Floyd Dell Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois).

⁴⁶Editorial, "Announcement" (March 12, 1909), 4.

⁴⁷Authors who were rashly productive were to be checked, those who possessed "beauty and goodness and truth" to be encouraged. Editorial, "The Publishers" (April 30, 1909), 4.

spirit" and recommended them "in the degree that they are likely to serve, interest or amuse the intelligent reader." He would not cultivate "popular opinion" nor accept the theory that books were "academic documents" to be judged only by "labored reference to the opinion of the past." Hackett, instead, deferred "to the right spirit and to the intellect, not necessarily to tradition."⁴⁸

He sketched the critical contours that would forever shape his literary criticism and established in its first weeks the central concerns and criteria of the FLR. He used the entire first page of the first issue to review John Galsworthy's Fraternity. While he did not ignore Galsworthy's artistry, Hackett stressed the novel's "sense of the adventure in life;" its "truest revelation" was discovered in the "pilgrimages to the tenement," its "sharpest discernment" was Galsworthy's recognition "that the democratic ideal finds it difficult to thrive where the submerged are offensive to the eyes and ears and noses of the emerged."⁴⁹

In the second week Hackett decided that William Vaughn Moody's The Faith Healer exposed the conflict between the intellectual and the Christian faith. Displeased with the

⁴⁸Advertisement (December 31, 1909), 8.

⁴⁹Francois Hackett, "Fraternity," a "Book of the Week" review of John Galsworthy's Fraternity (March 5, 1909), 1. The first issue also contained attacks on vaudeville as entertainment and uplifter Elbert Hubbard as philosopher. This negativism was tempered by praise of Edith Wharton's stories, Edith Wyatt's poetry, and William Hard's articles, as well as Galsworthy's Fraternity.

play as a "criticism of life," with Moody's "puritanical" disdain of life's joys, and with the play's dramatic appeal to religious rather than aesthetic emotion, Hackett characteristically preferred the play's "wicked woman" to its "morally fidgety Faith Healer."⁵⁰ He chose H. G. Wells' Fabianism instead of Moody's easy optimism. Defending Wells' Tono-Bungay against the London Spectator charge that it was "repellent," Hackett suggested that Wells was "too true to life and too sincere" for the Spectator. The best fiction, no longer mere entertainment, was "highly philosophic," containing significant ideas about the harsher aspects of life.⁵¹

The third issue began with Hackett's favorable review of Morris Hillquit's Socialism in Theory and Practice, returning Hackett to the issue raised by Wells.⁵² Hackett discovered and praised a tendency toward "self-revelation" in contemporary fiction, the "genuine self-revelation" of a

⁵⁰Yet, generous in a way many later literary radicals would not be, Hackett discovered a "fine poetic nature," an unusual truth of characterization" in the drama which "sincerely and even passionately affirms the mystical powers of faith." Francis Hackett, "The Miracle Worker," a review of William Vaughn Moody's The Faith Healer (March 12, 1909), 1.

⁵¹Editorial, "So Very Unpleasant" (March 12, 1909), 4.

⁵²Hackett praised Hillquit for offering a "sober and realistic program." Francis Hackett, "What is Socialism?" a review of Morris Hillquit's Socialism in Theory and Practice (March 19, 1909), 1. Hackett's sociological, philosophical, and political and economic reviews and views will be examined in a succeeding chapter. The Hillquit and Moody reviews were also "Book of the Week" reviews, a designation that will largely be ignored in this study.

Wells instead of that unspontaneous interjection of a Victorian like Thackeray. He thought Wells' expression of intense feeling on all aspects of society superior to Hawthorne's introduction to The Scarlet Letter. Hackett eagerly celebrated in Wells "the new spirit, which questions all customs."⁵³

Dedicated to the "new spirit," the FLR's format and features were remarkably inclusive and modern.⁵⁴ The FLR under Hackett consisted of eight large pages of closely printed reviews, notes and features providing an extensive coverage of literature greater than that of any Chicago (or most other city) newspaper in the 1960's. Proud announcements acclaimed this remarkable scope:

All the new books published in America are reviewed in columns and classified groups. Each week a full-page exhaustive criticism is made of the book whose special importance entitles it to be considered the Book of the Week.

Shan F. Bullock, the Irish novelist, communicates London literary news in every issue. A New York publisher gives exclusive New York news under the pseudonym of Bayswell.

Vital literary topics are focused, and discussed at length, in the regular editorial.

A special feature peculiar to the Friday Literary Review is the Magazine Critique, in which the significant articles of the day are singled out and discussed.

⁵³Editorial, "Reticence in Fiction" (March 19, 1909), 4.

⁵⁴Fanny Butcher recently pointed out how much the FLR, surprising for its day, resembled the modern literary magazine. Hackett was the "editor of the first really serious and brilliant critical literary review in a newspaper in the Middle West." "Theoretically," she added, it was against "all theories of journalism."

Special care [in "Literary Small Talk"] is in sifting and presenting the gossip of the world....⁵⁵

Hackett believed that if followed week by week, the FLR would provide compact but inclusive news of the entire contemporary book world.⁵⁶

The regular letters by Bayswell and Bullock were able mixtures of book reviewing and comment, editorials, and bits of news of political, social, or literary significance. Bullock's letters from London had been carried for years in the Post. Bayswell, the New York publisher, was actually Hackett's friend Benjamin W. Huebsch, a progressive and imaginative publisher whose publications, radical for their day, included, John Spargo's study of Karl Marx and James

⁵⁵Advertisement (December 31, 1909), 8. The FLR was sent, with the regular Friday paper, outside Chicago, for \$1.00 a year. See also the somewhat similar advertisement for December 23, 1910, p. 8, in which Hackett claimed that the FLR covered 10,000 books yearly.

⁵⁶"Sixteen hundred and thirty eight volumes were reviewed in 1910, in eight hundred and two columns of space. Arranged in carefully classified groups, these reviews were accompanied by a hundred illustrations and special portraits. In addition to direct reviews, the news of the entire literary field, covering three hundred columns, enabling the reader to keep informed of every important literary activity. In one hundred columns of editorials the most vital ideas and tendencies of the day were analyzed, discussed and reviewed. Exclusive correspondence from New York and London filled one hundred and fifty [columns]....Half as many columns were devoted to critique of the leading magazines. All put in the simplest form, classified to save time and economize attention, carefully edited and held in the right perspective...." Used by publishers for advance announcements in the year 1910, Hackett claimed, the FLR had "established itself more firmly than ever as a leader among the country's journals recognized as the best mediums of reaching the intelligent reading public." Advertisement (January 20, 1911), 8.

Oppenheim's novels and poetry. Huebsch later founded Viking Press and remained Hackett's friend until Hackett's death in 1962. Huebsch wrote the New York letter for the FLH until April 7, 1911, when "Ion Clifford" (Clifford Smythe of the New York Times) succeeded him.⁵⁷ Both the magazine article critique and the literary gossip were often forthright editorial paragraphs. Hackett's biannual report from New York on the publishers' activities appeared on the first page of two successive issues each fall and spring. There Hackett provided a capsule description of the various types of literature forthcoming, commented on the state of literature in America, and made statements about particular people and issues frequently with more acid and energy than he did in his reviews and editorials.⁵⁸ In the last year of Hackett's editorship, the FLH began an infrequent series by Julie Sterrette Gaguy.⁵⁹

⁵⁷"New York Letter" (June 11, 1909), 4. The following letters indicate that Huebsch was Bayswell: Francis Hackett to "Dear Huebsch," February 13, 1911; April 19, 1911, in Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 12, Folder 1907-1920. The last letter makes it quite clear that Huebsch was Bayswell and that Hackett liked his letter better than Clifford Smythe's, as he does again, May 27, 1911.

⁵⁸See, for example, Hackett's first report, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 1, 1909), 1.

⁵⁹She began with a discussion of M. Emile Faguet's contributions to democracy and feminism. (February 10, 1911), 5. See also, for example, her "Parisian Comment" (July 28, 1911), 4. This appears after Hackett had retired. Bullock continued his letter; Baldwin Macy wrote the New York letter, and (July 28, 1911), 4, announced Dreiser's second novel would appear in the fall. By September, 1911, perhaps earlier, Eunice Tietjens read faithfully the FLH. Eunice Tietjens to Editor, September 9, 1911 (September 15, 1911), 4.

Special and occasional features of some importance appeared in the FLR. Hackett gave close attention and extensive coverage to censorship debate in England. Floyd Dell contributed an excellent series on the various Chicago libraries.⁶⁰ Edwin Bjorkman added a brief series entitled "Gleams," and Van Wyck Brooks, in his first regular magazine appearance, contributed the impressionistic and non-radical series "Mortal Things," which ran for about half a year. There were occasional non-review pieces such as Edith Wyatt's "Things Seen," an attack on tenement housing.⁶¹ Scattered throughout the FLR were quotations of as much as half a column in length from American and British writers and journals on various topics.

The most important and valuable material, however, usually appeared in Hackett's signed "Book of the Week" review (sometimes cut to a column and a half and untitled), in Dell's reviews, in editorials,⁶² in the signed and unsigned reviews appearing under such topical headings as "The Newest Fiction" and "Works in History," and in the "Literary Small Talk" and the "Magazine Critique."

⁶⁰See, for example, Dell's report (June 11, 1909), 5.

⁶¹Edith Wyatt, "Things Seen" (March 19, 1909), 4. As far as Hackett knew he "was the first editor to whose columns" Brooks contributed. Huebsch told Hackett he published an early Brooks MSS on Hackett's recommendation. Francis Hackett, "Literary Critics," American Mercury, LX (March, 1945), 367-374.

⁶²See George T. Tanselle, "Faun at the Barricades: The Work and Life of Floyd Dell" (Unpublished dissertation, Northwestern University, 1959) and the Floyd Dell Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois) for the Dell editorials.

Hackett was encouraged by the early, favorable response made by various publishers and leading American magazines to the FLR. A spokesman for the North American Review admired the FLR because it was one of the "very few" papers "in this country" that "really" had "the spirit of literature in them," the "spirit of youth and enthusiasm," and "a personality and a charm of its own." George D. Lutton, "after seeing several numbers," decided that the FLR was "working along the right lines." Leonard D. Abbott⁶³ was "delighted" by the FLR, "reading it with great interest," and thought Hackett's "sense of values" was "just right." "Especially," Abbott added, "I like your progressive spirit." While some "people

⁶³Upton Sinclair had significantly discovered in Abbott as well as George D. Herron kindred spirits back in 1904. Abbot was among that group of intellectual socialists who had answered the call of Sinclair and George Strobell in 1905 for the founding of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. John Chamberlain, Farewell to Reform, 180; David A. Shannon, The Socialist Party of America (Quadrangle edition, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), 55. In 1909 Abbott was employed by the Current Literature Publishing Company.

There were, of course, many important and widely scattered readers from whom Hackett may never have heard. For example, there is the letter written by Raymond Evans to Floyd Dell [c. Fall, 1911], who has just read of Hackett's resignation. "I've followed the Post Friday Review with keenest interest. When I was in Toledo a bunch of us used to read and discuss it in Brand Whitlock's office. It was through Whitlock and Bern Dailey, his secretary, that I first came to know that there was such a torch as the Friday Review." Floyd Dell Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois). See also William Mailly to Floyd Dell, August 12, 1911, from Reading Station, Connecticut, in Floyd Dell Papers, regretting Hackett's resignation and praising the FLR as "the most modern review in America. Dell's own FLR received wide acclaim: James Oppenheim to Floyd Dell, March 12, 1912; Edwin C. Slosson to Floyd Dell, August 7, 1912 in Floyd Dell Papers. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether they include the FLR under Hackett in their praise. Maurice Browne to Floyd Dell, September 15, 1911, had meant to tell the FLR "for some

write as if the book of history was closed," Abbott explained, Hackett wrote "as if its pages were unfolding endlessly. That's what appeals to me in your work."⁶⁴

months" that in "modern journalism" it and the New Age were superior. Floyd Dell Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois).

⁶⁴ "what the Publishers Think of the Friday Literary Review" (April 30, 1909), 5, covered the entire page. One Boston publisher liked Hackett's realization that the classicists' day was done. S. S. McClure called the FLR a "weekly book review of high character," and Ralph Hale of Small, Maynard knew it would succeed because the FLR combined the virtues of the newspaper and "useful criticism." The assistant editor of Cosmopolitan Magazine and John M. Siddal of the American Magazine thought it a discriminating and reliable periodical. Robert Bowen of D. Appleton & Co. discovered "sane criticism" in it. More perfunctory or not particularly distinguished commendations were sent by Little, Brown, by Edward C. Marsh of MacMillan's, Pitts Duffield of Duffield and Co., William G. Preston of Dodd, Mead & Co., H. S. Crams of Putnams, William Morrow of Stokes, and Temple Scott of Brentano's (NY). Such comments have to be assessed with care; many were sent perhaps only because the FLR could affect sales. Since many publishers had expressed their "interest and satisfaction" with the FLR, Hackett had written to "the representative of the leading houses, referring to their voluntary communications and asking them to say what they thought of our venture in a letter we might feel free to publish." His friend Huebsch praised the FLR as carefully planned and correctly mixed with scholarship and spice; it would be influential, he foretold, with both publishers and sellers. More humorous was the fact that the letter from Byrne Hackett was also unprefaced by comment, a presumably unbiased letter. Byrne told his kid brother that it was a "literary success" and told publishers that they should support it. In the same issue Hackett expressed gratitude for such praise, indicating that good houses wanted good literature, and without pausing over Ben Huebsch or Byrne described the comments as "sincere" and "disinterested." Editorial, "The Publishers" (April 30, 1909), 4. Hackett may have discussed his plans for the FLR with various publishers. Francis W. Halsey had chatted with Hackett about the "forthcoming supplement and had since been impressed with it. Halsey pointed out, what Hackett in effect admitted in some issues, that some weeks there would not be a justifiable "Book of the Week". Halsey to Hackett, May 10, 1909 (May 14, 1909), 7. Samuel Merwin's letter in that same issue further indicated the national attention given by magazine editors to the FLR. Merwin to Hackett, May 11, 1909 (May 14, 1909), 7.

Various established British and American writers and critics supported Hackett's effort. On October 25, 1909, William Lyon Phelps of Yale, perhaps the country's leading academic critic, admired the "penetration,...originality, and...humor" of FLR reviews.⁶⁵ By December 31, 1909, Hackett could list the socialist John Spargo as well as Professor Phelps among the FLR supporters. A year later Hackett identified some of the greatly disparate writers who had praised the FLR in whole or in part; Arnold Bennett, John Galsworthy, Frank Harris, Jane Addams, Hamlin Garland, Henry B. Fuller, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Lillian Whiteing, Louise Collier Wilcox, Jesse Lynch Williams, Gerald Stanley Lee, and John Spargo. William Lyon Phelps described the FLR as "'By far the best purely literary weekly in the United States.'"⁶⁶ Ellery Sedgwick of the Atlantic Monthly, on June 11, 1909, granted to Hackett the sanction that perhaps only that high organ of established literary repute could

⁶⁵Phelps to editor (October 29, 1909), 4. A month later the critic James S. Metcalfe praised a particular editorial which had appeared in the November 5, issue (November 19, 1909), 4.

⁶⁶Advertisement (December 23, 1910), 8. Many of the latter names, while unfamiliar to the general reader of today, were prominent literary names in 1910. Much of this praise came in private letters or conversation. Hackett had probably asked for and received permission to use their names. In some cases the praise may have been partially solicited. We do know, from a letter Hackett wrote to Lloyd Lewis, that Hackett received letters from Bennett, Galsworthy, Frank Harris, and William Dean Howells, among others. Presumably these survive, but a Post colleague lost a trunk containing Hackett's Post material when Hackett left it with him in 1911. The Socialist Bennett told Hackett that he admired Hackett's review of The Old Wives Tale more than any other. Hackett to Lloyd Lewis, October 20, 1948, "Development Requests File," (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois).

give. Sedgwick gladly added his commendation "to the very substantial praise which I have heard accorded to your Friday Literary Review." Sedgwick thought it "written with independence--which is essential--and often with enthusiasm--which is agreeable...."⁶⁷ Hackett was uniquely supported by both genteelists and socialists.

The Atlantic Monthly bestowed its solid stamp of culture on Hackett's enterprise. The genteel realists of Chicago gave their names in his support; some of them wrote reviews for the FLR. This good will of the established Chicago writers toward Hackett and his experiment was important.⁶⁸ If Hackett had made only a cult of youth, had been the simple, unrelieved, "literary radical," much of the FLR and much of his later activity, such as his New Republic reviews of the literary radicals, would be quite strange and that meaningful dialogue between Hackett and Chicago's literary "uplift" leaders could not have existed. They supported the FLR and even granted the young radical the stamp of

⁶⁷(June 11, 1909), 4.

⁶⁸George Test, "Francis Hackett: Literary Radical Without Portfolio," Mid-Continent American Studies Journal, V (Fall, 1964), 24-37, ignores the importance of the connection, except for the fact that Hackett was a member of the Little Room. Test evidently saw no difference between Hackett and the famed "Literary Radicals." Perhaps partly because of that connection with the best of the earlier phase, Hackett avoided simplifications that plagued the work of Mencken, Bourne, Dell, and even Brooks.

approval by Chicago's literary establishment by inviting him to become a member of The Little Room.⁶⁹

Miss Edith Wyatt, a member of Chicago's older literary generation, later an editor of *Poetry* magazine, was interviewed in 1910 by the New York Sun. Miss Wyatt, discussing Chicago's literary activity, praised Jane Addams, Virginia Tracy, Joseph Medill Patterson, Robert Herrick, Bert Leston Taylor, and added: "'We are very proud and fond of our Friday Literary Review of the Evening Post. It is a great help....It has given us more cosmopolitan belle-lettres than we had before--word of Arnold Bennett of Bernard Shaw and of

⁶⁹Albert Bartlet Pond to Francis B. Hackett, November 17, 1909, in Little Room Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois). Hackett's initiation fee was \$3.00, annual dues \$2.00, paid to Franklin Head. William Hard was also invited to join. By 1924 Pond had upped the dues to \$5.00 to meet a deficit and to avoid the "curtailment of the season such as has occurred in previous years." Little Room Papers, "Meeting Notices, October 16, 1905-October 31, 1924." For membership see "Undated Membership List," "Membership List, October 1906," and "Autograph Book, 1898-1931." "Account Book, 1910-1917," p. 70 indicates that in November, 1910, Hackett paid his dues, and see also p. 175. See also "Executive Committee Meeting Records, 1902-1909," p. 34; Hackett is chosen. See p. 1 of this for the rigid tests of membership. Tiffany Blake had been recommended December 9, 1904, "Membership Recommendations, February 24, 1904 to December 12, 1913." Many of Hackett's friends, FLR supporters, and FLR reviewers were members or quests of the Little Room: Fuller, Garland, Harriet Monroe, George M. A. Twose, Edith Wyatt, Karleton Hackett, Jane Addams, Charles Francis Browne, I. K. Friedman, Alice Corbin Henderson, F. W. Gookin, Clara E. Laughlin, Wallace Rice. See especially "Membership List, January, 1910," in Little Room Papers. Sources such as Ralph F. Seymour's Some Went This Way (Chicago: R. F. Seymour, 1945), are rich in discussing Chicago and the Little Room, but often contain little or nothing about Hackett. The Little Room group, Edith Wyatt, I. K. Friedman, the Ponds, and some others, were also "friends of Hull House." Francis Hackett, "Hull House--A Souvenir," p. 279.

Maeterlinck; it is not merely local. The editorials and main reviews are by people with sincere interest."⁷⁰

The main business of the FLR was, however, not the quoting of its admirers or its detractors, but rather the reviewing of books. The ability of his reviewers and the standards Hackett demanded of them were the life of his supplement. Easily excited by the prospect of acquiring a new, able

⁷⁰"Literary Small Talk" paragraph entitled "The Chicago Literary Situation" (April 29, 1910), 5. Edith Wyatt, Fuller and Lovett, among others, maintained their connection with Hackett during his years at the New Republic. Not all of the writers and journals were entirely enthusiastic about an FLR positive in its dislikes. Cale Young Rice attacked the FLR for robbing writers of their literary reputations, for vindictiveness, for removing a favorable review of his work by Ellen Fitzgerald and substituting a harsh one by Dell. Rice to editor, from Louisville, November 13, 1910 (November 18, 1910), 3. The FLR reported ("Literary Small Talk," May 19, 1911, p. 5) comments made by Octave Thanet (Miss Alice French) the preceding week at a Chicago tea party. An FLR friend slipped Hackett word of Miss French who "'gored to shreds the red rags of the modernist.'" Hackett's informer innocently asked Miss French if she read the FLR often. Not often, she replied, adjusting a "luncheon order." But she had recently read an editorial identifying a certain writer [Herrick?] as one of the American leaders and she preferred Margaret Deland to his kind. Why was Miss French not in that list? "'I fear I am too sane....Sanity is a great drawback with a certain school of critics nowadays.'" Miss French then attacked labor for causing contractors so much trouble, criticized Socialists for their narrowness, and indicated her hostility to militant suffragettes. The working girl, she asserted, had more need for good sense than the vote, for then she would not "'waste body and soul'" in such unsanitary, low-paying trades. Miss French, also was unimpressed by the post-impressionists. W. D. Howells praised Alice French's "literature." Howells to Alice French, October 9, 1910, Alice French Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois).

"Why," complained Miss Alice Wilkins of Chicago, "do we have literary journals, if not to provide us a refuge from the ugly and wicked things of life? Is not literature itself an 'ivory tower' set high apart from the den and fray of the world?" Alice Wilkins to editor, September 20, 1910 (September 30, 1910), 4.

reviewer, Hackett knew that the serious, skilled critic of books was a rarity. One day a comely, modest young girl appeared before him. Why not, he asked himself? Did not the inexperienced promise more than those boring, confident, and ignorant youths who confused arrogance with criticism, strong statements with accuracy, and an unemotional pose with critical stature. Nibbling at his mind was the worry that even if this reviewer were intelligent she might not labor or love in the fields of literature. Looking at her young face beneath the "decidedly sneek hat" he wondered if reviewing books was to her only another "accomplishment" to claim, or if beneath that hat there lurked "those preoccupations which distinguish the real reviewer?" Would she but choose her likes and dislikes in a world presumably arranged for her tastes? Did she have an "eager and positive mind" that could appreciate a new George Eliot, Ruskin or Carlyle, separating the original from the "second-hand?" "Would she fail," he dourly asked himself, "as most of us fail, in reviewing the imperfect and confused?"

With such heavy questions in his own young head, Francis Hackett filled her arms with novels. She promptly reviewed them with scribblings replete with "romantic ideas," comparing the novelists' views of life unfavorably with her own. "She tried the books on herself," he complained, "as she might have tried hats on, and rejected the unsuitable." If her "personal 'style,'" had been superior, this might have had value, but her's was "the mind of a gosling--what she

desired was not books to review but books to enjoy." Sadly, Hackett decided that the "beautiful" girl might make a fine settlement teacher, a seasonal auditor of the Thomas Orchestra, an attentive undergraduate to Professor Linn, even a successful follower of Shaw or Chesterton, but she had no talent for reviewing Hackett's books, "for glory, as it were, rather than cash."⁷¹

Floyd Dell, impressed that Hackett at twenty-five had achieved so complete a "unification of his artistic and intellectual interests," held that Hackett had conducted his FLR campaign "with unflagging zest, good humor, judgment and skill." Indebted to Hackett for some of his own critical training, Dell discovered as others would that Hackett's estimation of reviewers was indeed perceptive.⁷² Those who would confuse the FLR under Hackett with the later FLR under Dell, regarding the two as but continuation, an impressionistic "receptivity to what seemed interesting and new," a confusion of "enthusiasm" with "substance," have not compared Hackett's test of his young reviewer with Dell's advice to Margaret Anderson. Dell, to prepare her to write an FLR

⁷¹Editorial, "To A Book Reviewer" (June 2, 1911), 4. FLR reviewers probably received only the book, for second-hand sale, in return for their labors. The disappointed girl described the whole experience in an unsigned and undated letter which appeared in the June 9, 1911, p. 7, issue. Her letter justifies Hackett's sympathetic rejection of her efforts. "One Who Tried," in a letter headed "The Book Reviewer."

⁷²Dell, Homecoming, 194-196, 219-220. Harriet Monroe, A Poet's Life: Seventy Years in a Changing World (New York: Macmillan, 1938), discovered later Hackett's keen analysis of skills and potentials betrayed by young writers.

review of a book about China, told Margaret Anderson to write about herself--not about China.⁷³ Hackett would never have offered Dell's advice as related by Margaret Anderson, especially perhaps not to Margaret Anderson. Hackett realized the dangers inherent in using impressionism as a reviewer's touchstone.⁷⁴ Yet truth to one's own impressions is central to Hackett's and, of course, to all vital criticism.

That Hackett collected an able group of reviewers is evident especially in the FLR's signed reviews. From March, 1909, to the summer of 1911, the following writers contributed

⁷³ Margaret Anderson, My Thirty Years War, 37. The FLR description is Alfred Kazin, On Native Grounds: An Interpretation of Modern American Prose Literature (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942), 122, 166-167, 170, 175-177. Whether or not this is an injustice to Dell is beyond the scope of our study, but it is a misrepresentation of Hackett. Kazin did not make Howe's error of presenting Hackett and the FLR in 1911, when Hackett left Chicago. The great difference between Hackett and Dell in the years after 1913 reflects the fact that they had not been of exactly the same mind in Chicago. Howe and Kazin were only touching on Hackett, in passing, in two admirable studies. None of this is intended to imply that Kazin's preference for John Macy's "more solid" work cannot be substantiated. It may be, however, to borrow a metaphor from Hackett's defense of Henry James, that Kazin tested a cat by canine rules.

Margaret Anderson began reviewing books for Clara E. Laughlin (editor of a religious weekly, the Interior), who was thrilled by platitudinous reviews. Novels sold for \$1.50 and Margaret Anderson sold her review copies for seventy-five cents. "I began reviewing for the Chicago Evening Post. Francis Hackett was literary editor and had already gained the reputation of publishing the liveliest book page in the middle west." She had been reviewing for him about two weeks when "Francis" wrote her to stop using all the "big words," many of which he had to delete. He wanted more "simplicity" and then occasionally the use of "a great word for beauty." On the heels of this she struggled to prune the "cliches" from her vocabulary. Anderson, My Thirty Years War.

⁷⁴ Unlike Dell, Hackett was no faun, but he mounted the barricades earlier.

one signed review: Henry Fuller, Edith K. Dunton, Maude Healy, Francis W. Shepardson, Caroline S. Maddox, Lucian Cary, F. A. Golder, Norreys Jephson O'Connor, E. J. Westlake, James Weber Linn, Margaret Anderson, George Cram Cook, I. K. Friedman, Ward Clark, Alfred P. James, Clarence D. Johns, George C. Sikes, Frank Crane, Athol E. Hollins and Phyllis Wyatt. They were a mixture of established writers and writers of the coming Liberation. In at least one case, that of Lucian Cary, a second review assignment was made but never completed.⁷⁵ Some of these one-shot reviews were capable, brief studies of important works.⁷⁶

FLR reviewers who signed from two to five reviews prior to Hackett's resignation were: Ellen Fitzgerald, Van Wyck Brooks, Christian Brinton, Alice Corbin Henderson, Shaemas

⁷⁵Lucian Cary to Floyd Dell, [c. Summer, 1911], Floyd Dell Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois). Cary's letter also shows that Hackett drew his reviewers from areas (Indiana, eg.) outside Chicago occasionally. Norreys O'Connor was with John Lane Co. from 1908 until 1910, and then became an assistant in English at Harvard University (1911-1913). Even before this she had been with F. A. Stokes. She later taught college classes, and wrote fiction and Irish studies. A. P. James was at this time a graduate student in history at the University of Chicago. Who's Who in America (1948-1949). E. J. Westlake was probably a Post reporter. Lucy Huffaker to Floyd Dell, January 26, 1909, Floyd Dell Papers.

⁷⁶Professor Linn's reviews of Wells' Ann Veronica (October 29, 1909), 2; Lucian Cary's "The Theory of the Theater" (May 27, 1910), 5; Friedman's "Russian Realism," a review of a work by Leonid Andreieff (November 5, 1909), 2; Sikes' review essay on Frank J. Goodnow's The Municipal Problem (December 31, 1909), 5; and Phyllis Wyatt's commentary on Sarah Orne Jewett's novels and stories (February 24, 1911), 5, are examples. Some of them, Cook and Margaret Anderson, for example, later wrote reviews under Dell. Cary eventually became the editor of the FLR. I have omitted some initialled reviews whose author's names I do not know.

O'Sheel [pseudonym?], Charles T. Hallinan, William Chalmers Covert, William L. Chenery,⁷⁷ E. B. Mitchell, I. M. Hollander, Virginia Tracy, Frederick W. Gookin, Dewitt C. Wing, Edwin Bjorkman, Benjamin Terry and Eunice Follansbee. Again, some were writers of local or national repute in 1909; others would become important in the Liberation. They contributed many significant FLR reviews. Young Van Wyck Brooks, later to become one of the most important American literary radicals, contributed three signed reviews (Oct. 15, 1909, p. 3; Nov. 26, 1909, p. 11; Dec. 24, 1909, p. 5) and an eighteen part series of rambling, impressionistic, sometimes almost pointless prose called "Mortal Things" which ran from January 7, 1910, into the summer.⁷⁸ Edith Wyatt attacked W. C. Brownell's American Prose Masters.⁷⁹ Christian Brinton, an

⁷⁷Chenery was then a graduate student at the University of Chicago, served as a writer on the Post from 1910 to 1914, and later became an editor in New York on various magazines and newspapers. Who's Who in America (1948-1949).

⁷⁸Brooks was with Doubleday-Page (1908-1909) and an instructor in English, Stanford University (1911-1913). His Wine of the Puritans appeared in 1909. Of interest to students of Brooks' later career might be his review, December 24, 1909, p. 5, of A. Maurice Low's The American People. A comparison of Brooks' journalism with Hackett's at this point might well explain Dell's wonder at Hackett's journalistic skill and his artistic and intellectual unification. George Test in "Francis Hackett: Literary Radical Without Portfolio," has pointed out that Brooks was at this time much less the accomplished, journalistic literary radical than Hackett.

⁷⁹A friend of Howells, she had published her first novel in 1901, worked for S. S. McClure and connected with Hull House and the Consumers League. She published much in the New Republic, McClures, and Poetry. Edith Wyatt Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois), Folder "E. Wyatt: Biographical and Critical Material Concerning." Brownell, she said, lacked a basic sympathy for literature, evidenced by

old friend of Hackett, contributed toward the FLR's success in his four reviews.⁸⁰ Alice Henderson, associate editor of Poetry, 1912-1916, reviewed books on drama.⁸¹ Dell's friend, Charles T. Hallinan, reviewed with varying success historical and economic studies.⁸² Virginia Tracy, a Chicago writer and a friend to whom Hackett later dedicated The Green Lion, reviewed plays, poetry, and especially literature by Edith Wharton.⁸³

his conviction that Cooper's romances were realistic, especially Cooper's women. This, Wyatt hotly exclaimed, was quite as ridiculous as Brownell's attempt to rescue Hawthorne's Scarlet Letter from Brownell's own narrow criticism by proving that the novel did not involve the dreaded symbolism. (February 25, 1910), 2. See also: (March 19, 1909), 4; (May 14, 1909), 2; and probably by Wyatt is "E. W.'s" celebration of Walt Whitman in "Song of the Broadax" (November 12, 1909), 4. In the coming years Brownell would be confronted by a literature he could not accept. May, The End of American Innocence, 65.

⁸⁰These included a review of James Huneker's Promenades (May 20, 1910), 5, and reviews of art books and other works which appeared on July 29, 1910, p. 8; February 17, 1911, p. 5; and March 3, 1911, p. 2. Brinton could properly be called an "expert" on art. Burgess Johnson, As Much, p. 84, 95. Brinton continued to review for Dell's FLR. Richard Le Gallienne, From a Paris Garret (New York: Washburn, 1936), 208, said that Huneker's Promenades had done "much for the internationalizing of American artistic culture."

⁸¹(June 17, 1910), 8; (July 15, 1911), 8. Alice Henderson brought Carl Sandburg's Manuscript, Chicago Poems, to Alfred Harcourt's attention when he was still with Holt. Harcourt, Some Experiences, p. 25.

⁸²He reviewed Charles D. Hazan's Europe Since 1815 (August 12, 1910), 1. He did not do well at all in his review of a study by J. Laurence Laughlin (December 31, 1909), 1.

⁸³(December 30, 1910), 5; (February 17, 1911), 3; (March 3, 1911), 5; (April 28, 1911), 5; (May 26, 1911), 5. Dewitt C. Wing, who later helped finance Poetry, an important Liberation journal, contributed two reviews in 1911. Bjorkman contributed reviews on Strindberg and others, besides his 1911 series, "Gleams." Benjamin Terry reviewed

Hackett and Dell, of course, contributed more than five signed reviews. They also wrote unsigned items, editorials, small talk paragraphs, comments on magazine articles, and unsigned reviews. Some of the FLA reviews were really review articles which, usually in non-fiction categories, covered from three to six works. Henry B. Hemenway, writing on medicine and science, contributed six review articles. Charles J. Little, who died in 1911, had reviewed historical and other works in the Post since 1910.⁸⁴ Nathalie Sieboth Kennedy, who generally wrote long and able reviews of literature and criticism, signed nine and initialled three reviews. Llewellyn Jones, who later became an editor of the FLA, signed thirteen and initialled nineteen long and generally competent reviews of social, political and historical items as well as novels of social comment like James Oppenheim's Wild Oats. Katherine A. Graham, another frequent contributor, wrote on literature, women, and criticism. Her reviews were usually able but she slipped occasionally, as with Irving Babbitt's New Laokoon (August 5, 1910, p. 2). She contributed twenty-four signed and four initialled reviews. Magazine editor Donald Kennicott added ten signed and two initialled reviews, primarily of non-fiction works. Karleton Hackett (no relation), musician, musical scholar, and long a member of the Little Room, published seven signed

historical works for Hackett. The poet Ellen Fitzgerald contributed four reviews.

⁸⁴Editorial, "Obituary" (May 17, 1911), 4.

articles of musical scholarship and review, the last one dealing with Newberry Library's musical manuscript collection. William E. Dodd, historian and later United States ambassador to Berlin, academically open enough and politically Progressive enough to praise Beard's An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution in the American Historical Review (1913), wrote reviews for Hackett, praising, for example, Max Farrand's impressive edition of the records of the Constitutional convention. Dodd contributed twenty able review articles on history.⁸⁵

Drawn from university faculties, from newspapers, from the older group of writers which included Friedman and Edith Wyatt, and from the Little Room, Hackett's reviewers also included men and women who would later finance, edit, and write for the magazines of the Liberation.⁸⁶ Hackett's FLR

⁸⁵"J. M." (probably Julian Mason) contributed seven reviews on non-fiction items such as Adlai E. Stevenson's Men I Have Known.

⁸⁶In many of the longer, unsigned reviews, Hackett and Dell anonymously dealt with important topics and books. Hackett probably reviewed Jane Addams' The Spirit of Youth in the City Streets and did review Herbert Croly's Promise of American Life. An unsigned review raked Professor George E. Woodberry over the critical coals for his Inspiration of Poetry (April 29, 1910), 5. As Woodberry was condemned for ignoring contemporary life, so Bayswell condemned the New York Nation for ignoring contemporary books (November 18, 1910), 5. Some reviewing occurred in the Bayswell, Clifford, and Bullock letters from New York and London. Bayswell probably wrote the most interesting column of the three, giving news from New York publishers, political news especially of Progressives and Socialists, and cultural comments such as the following: "May I," duebsch as Bayswell asked on March 17, 1911, "call your attention to...[a violinist] who is to visit us next fall--a young Russian named Zimbalist...." We know that American writers followed these minor reviews in the FLR. Reactions to shorter and often unsigned

recognized that two ages stood "side by side, and admit of being compared," and that the past must "be compensated by the rich possibilities of the new era." Supported and in part staffed by the older, established writers, the FLR yet spoke for the revolt, "the new spirit, which questions all customs." Critical of the past, the FLR was a bridge from one era to another. Young Hackett stood in the front ranks of the cultural revolution.

reviews appeared in letters to the editor from such disparate sources as James Ford Rhodes, who appreciated their advice (April 29, 1910), and young Louis Untermeyer (April 21, 1911), 2, who may even have done some reviewing for Hackett at this time, although I have not found any reviews signed or initialled by him. Untermeyer, a friend of Ben Huebsch, had written Hackett a letter of praise so kind that Hackett was overwhelmed. Hackett to Ben Huebsch, February 13, 1911, in the Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 12, Folder 1907-1920. Untermeyer, From Another World: The Autobiography of Louis Untermeyer (New York: Harcourt, 1939), 48, says that he had written "a weekly column of poetry reviews" for Dell "and for his predecessor, Francis Hackett...." But Untermeyer today does not recall when he first wrote for Hackett. Louis Untermeyer to author, June 9, 1967.

CHAPTER IV

CREATIVE CRITICISM: THE REVOLT AGAINST FORMALISM

"In the first place, we have done with all the old Rules."

Joel Elias Spingarn, "The New Criticism" (1910)

"He's the kind of man that gets up a reputation for being clever and artistic by running down the very one particular thing that everyone likes, and cracking up some book or picture or play that no one has ever heard of."

Frank Norris, The Pit, Chapter II

Early in March, 1909, Hackett expressed his broad but exacting critical concerns. His critical philosophy--involving the sources, methods and desirable results of literary criticism and other creative writing--defined the particular brand of criticism which established him as a leading journalistic critic in America. Hackett demanded an unfettered criticism that regarded literature as a direct reflection of life. The critic must encourage good art and introduce readers and writers not only to that art but also to the new ideas concerning life and society.

Hackett early demonstrated a faith in cultural vitality and an optimistic awareness of an inter-Atlantic "modernist generation." The content of fiction, whether social with John Galsworthy or religious with William Vaughn Moody, was important, but artistic presentation was also necessary. On

this ground, therefore, Hackett praised Galsworthy and Moody and censured them on points explicitly stated and fully illustrated. As critic, Hackett hoped to avoid playing publisher's hack or "academic bore." Critics who attacked "candid novelists" like H. G. Wells because they were "too true to life and too sincere" served no genuine literary purpose. Hackett rejected any literary criticism that tested literature with a litmus of unrelieved optimism about life. Hackett held that fiction was increasingly concerned with ideas, with a philosophic recognition of all "facts." He welcomed this "new" literature of "self-revelation," this casting off of restraint to reveal vital confidences and confessions. H. G. Wells, who wanted to sing of himself, represented the "new tendency;" Hackett rejoiced in this "new spirit, which questions all customs," and, he hoped, avoided "self-righteousness."¹

Hackett did not confuse celebration of self-revelation by the writer with a narrow, self-indulging autobiography; he did not call for that troublesome preoccupation with the self as writer so evident in elitists, be they bohemian or

¹Francis Hackett, "Fraternity," a review of John Galsworthy's Fraternity (March 5, 1910), 1; Hackett, "The Miracle Worker," a review of William Vaughn Moody's The Faith Healer (March 12, 1909), 1; Editorial, "Announcement," (March 12, 1909), 4; Editorial, "So Very Unpleasant," (March 12, 1909), 4; Editorial, "Reticence in Fiction" (March 19, 1909), 4.

Hackett accepted Max Beerbohm's contention that this admirable "self-revelation" was evident in Henry James. That the laudatory "revelation" was evident in both Wells and James seems to indicate that Hackett was more interested in the psychological rather than the merely "sordid" facts.

genteel. He most wanted, instead, the expression of those "great essential experiences" of inarticulate Americans as yet unexpressed and neglected. The "refinement of sensation" was not life. While welcoming critical, philosophic men as writers, Hackett also believed that it was dangerous for ideas to interfere with a novelist's interpretation of people.²

What was Art? Art was, first of all, a sincere expression by the artist of his own experience with life. The first necessity of fiction was its ability to convey this experience. A novel justified itself to Hackett when it sharpened our sense of truth by probing life. If he quickened our hearts and purged our spirits the novelist had made art's miracle.³ Art, therefore, could not be divorced from content. Hackett agreed with Galsworthy that the real artist was in sympathy with things for their own sake rather than for uses of the current morality. Shakespeare was such an artist. Art revealed that which was deep and lasting in

²Francis Hackett, "The Mediocre," a review of Richard Whiting's Little People (April 9, 1909), 1. In many ways Whiting had transgressed these bounds, but "in terms humorous and ironical" he had written "almost the full autobiography of the ratepayer's soul," avoiding simplistic pictures of bad plutocrats, bourgeois or platitudinous suburbanites. Whiting's sympathetic, sincere gentleness that recognized bourgeois calculations as necessary was "the true literary spirit, fixing a star for the man who follows main traveled roads." Whiting had fought "'grossness'" and the "'out and dry'" to plead for that true bohemianism which was freedom "'for the finer impulses.'" This, Hackett thought, was "as near as you will get to a settlement between Romance and Service." Both were necessary.

³Francis Hackett, "The Novel of the Week," a review of I. Querido's Toil of Men (October 22, 1909), 1.

human nature, a revelation wrought only by the writer's unprejudiced honesty, discipline, self-respect, a desire to create truth, an unflinching eye, and a disgust with the shoddy, be it liberal or reactionary. "Art," Hackett held, was "selective," but he later pointed out that the selection was "real in proportion as the artist" knew reality and perceived things "humorous, tragic, dramatic, which some unseen and universal genius [seemed] to be creating for him."⁴ Art was, moreover, "an expression of the human spirit" rather than a technical exercise. The great artist and the creative critic had "to elicit in every human soul" what he had discovered and "valued in his own." All "great art,... all great original criticism," and all men who loved "the beautiful for itself need fear no Mandarins." Literature as art was "a means of life." "Literature should be the

⁴Editorial, "Art with a Purpose" (December 3, 1909), 6; Editorial, "Read Twice" (April 14, 1911), 4; Editorial, "Straight from Life" (July 7, 1911), 2. Much of this chapter is drawn from FLR editorials. Only those editorials which were characteristically Hackett's in style and content are used. Although no editorials in the FLR are used that appeared during Hackett's vacations, some of those which appeared during his visits with publishers in New York and Boston are cited. Dell himself relates in Homecoming that Hackett sent material from New York, as we shall see in a later chapter. In fact, Hackett might quite likely have written more rather than fewer editorials from New York, giving no consideration those weeks to the small talk, Magazine Critique, unsigned reviews and rush of getting out the issues. A checklist in Tanselle's dissertation identifies the Dell editorials. These Dell editorials were not used. It would be dull if another's essay was wrongly assigned to Hackett, and this may indeed be the fact in a few cases. Nevertheless, Hackett is editor and is in command of the editorial page. It is Hackett who is analyzed in this chapter.

handmaiden of life. It should not be revered for itself, but for its contribution to one's own honest experience...."⁵

Hackett constantly and angrily rejected the prevailing views of culture in pre-World War I America precisely because he believed that literature was art, that art was vital expression, and that art was crucial to a society's total culture. The real issue in the conflict between "high-brow" and "low-brow" was whether ideas were "as important as groceries" and "art as important as baseball." Hackett insisted that the "spiritual end of life" was as necessary as the material and that "principles were fully as vital as groceries."⁶ He explained that the "sense of beauty" created a "morality that enhances even civic order" and that without the "appreciation of beauty...civilization would be incomplete and unbearable." Consequently those who truly searched for this beauty, whatever their limitations, had a claim on all others who realized that life was "an adventure."⁷ This quite naturally brought up a crucial issue. Hackett denied that art existed for the sake of art. Willard Huntington Wright pleased Hackett when he called for self-expressive art but excited Hackett's wrath when he opposed "art democratic." Hackett angrily cited Wright's fear that

⁵Editorial, "Charmed Circles" (July 21, 1911), 2; Editorial, "The Classics Defended" (February 11, 1910), 4; Editorial, "Persecuting the Youth" (May 26, 1911), 4.

⁶Editorial, "Low-Brows" (April 16, 1909), 4.

⁷Francis Hackett, "The Quest for Beauty," a review of Arthur Symonds' Plays, Acting and Music: A Book of Theory (June 4, 1909), 1.

one might "attend operas with one's butler." In a philosophy such as Wright's, art, understood only by artists, was "inutile." Hackett preferred Vernon Lee's humanistic regret that man was indeed so lamed that art was practiced for its own sake. Hackett hotly recommended Laurus Nobilis to any "be-lated aesthete obsessed by the idea that art is useless," for, as Vernon Lee had demonstrated, art was instead one of life's most important utilities.⁸

Fiction justified itself by honing our sense of truth in its penetration of life, and America particularly needed "critics and appreciators...for the finer things of our country."⁹ Hackett was aware that the bourgeoisie had "a great literature" which accorded with "their own experience and aspirations," but he also knew that bourgeois America preferred a "literature of entertainment and sentimentality" which completely ignored life as it was. While Hackett took literature "seriously," the people took it "frivolously," and while he went to it for "experience," they went to it "for relief from experience...and learn[ed] little from the criticism of life in literature."¹⁰ Sadly watching American

⁸ Editorial, "The Uselessness of Art" (September 24, 1909), 4. This is not, however, to be construed as a Benthamite expression of art, but merely that works of art, as are all ideas or expressions, are tools rather than decorations.

⁹ Francis Hackett, "The Novel of the Week," a review of I. Querido's Toil of Men (October 22, 1909), 1; Editorial, "The Audience" (September 16, 1910), 4.

¹⁰ Editorial, "Provincialism" (February 24, 1911), 4.

society daily deny his contention that life and literature were mutually dependent, Hackett attacked the "low-brow," the society, and all artists who denied social content to art. The best service that authors, books, and critics could perform, he believed, was to help the reader adjust "himself to his environment."¹¹

David Graham Phillips disappointed Hackett by asking for exactly the converse. Phillips' posthumous essay attacked the "New American Woman" for her pretensions to culture, and in Phillips' essay Hackett sadly discovered the very confusion about the relation of culture to the nation that so deeply disturbed him. Hackett was quite familiar with the female who dripped the trappings of culture, but the more he read Phillips' essay, the more dense Phillips became. Phillips, while denouncing the superficial sentimentalist, had mistakenly denounced "real as well as bogus culture," demanding that "ideals" suit the tired businessman rather than that the latter understand and pursue ideals. Phillips regarded culture as useless or worse; culture, in his eyes, made a man fit only for professordom in a bad university and turned woman into a useless, money-spending, rag-brained thing. Unlike George Meredith, Hackett decided, Phillips did not understand "that real Fine Shades and real Nice Feelings do exist," for Phillips considered both sentimentalism and culture mere ooze and drip to be mocked, with vulgarity remaining

¹¹Editorial, "Persecuting the Youth" (May 26, 1911), 4. By this, as will be evident in a later chapter, Hackett did mean comprehension rather than change in personality.

the only alternative. Phillips, George Horace Lorimer, Jack London, and Arthur Brisbane were all "almost certain to fall foul of real sensitiveness" and discriminations "in favor of beauty." Phillips' "density about Henry James" demonstrated this. The reason for such density and confusion was "probably national." Hackett decided that "American life" had not yet accepted the social value of "sensitiveness," and that its view of "refinement as weakness" was the "result of frontier tradition."¹²

This confusion led to a national misconception concerning the labels "high-brow" and "low-brow." Especially in Chicago did many proudly assume the latter title in silly ignorance of its leperized significance. But there were "honest" members of each camp who were quite different from the superficial and the insincere. The real "low-brow" usefully distinguished between high words cheaply used and the value of significant action. He was out of sympathy with the impractical, the hypocritical, the crank or the prig, but the genuine "high-brow," on the other hand, never confused "art" and "affectation," and justifiably considered ideas and principles as "vital" as eggs. While he understood the low-brow's preference for the popular novel and Coney Island as entertainment, Hackett attacked without sympathy the low-brow's inevitable choice of ideas from popular writers such as Winston Churchill (the American novelist), Marie Corelli, Hall Caine, or R. W. Chambers, who covered the truth less

¹²Editorial, "Sentimentalists" (July 14, 1911), 2.

well than did "their betters."¹³ The low-brow chose the borrowed, the corrupted, the second-rate and defended his choice by his virtuous lack of affectation, thus confusing real with false culture and rejecting both. Hackett was deeply concerned, only in part because he believed that literary criticism in America was "downright inferior" because few cared "enough for literature to support criticism."¹⁴

A "little tired of antithesis," Hackett nevertheless agreed with G. Lowes Dickenson's division of American men into the "Mollycoddles," whom Hackett described as "reflective,...critical,...idealist,...sensitive...intellectuals," and the practical, commercial "Red-bloods" so abundant in Chicago.¹⁵ He and the FLR, Hackett declared, were devoted to the "mollycoddle" life in contrast to those Red-bloods. Particularly in this period of American history, perhaps, but also in other times and places men such as Hackett had to come to grips with this real issue. In Anglo-Saxon culture, Hackett recognized with regret, art was a thing aside, while to the artist and "man of culture" it was vital.¹⁶

¹³Editorial, "Low-Brows" (April 16, 1909), 4.

¹⁴Editorial, "The Publishers" (April 30, 1909), 4. While confessing that he would rather eat a beefsteak than watch a sunset, Hackett derided Professor John P. Mahaffey of Dublin for his low-brow preference (in Outlook) for "field sports" instead of effeminate culture in effecting "human character." Mahaffey, to insure Hackett's esteem it would appear, also criticized journalists. Editorial, "Our Sickly Trade" (October 29, 1909), 4.

¹⁵Editorial, "The Red Corpuscle" (December 24, 1909), 4.

¹⁶Editorial, "Provincialism" (February 24, 1911), 4.

This lamentable "prejudice of the people" in America was "provincial," but that province which maintained the "crass and contemptuous" was not geographical isolation but "commercialism." Only when the people were separated from commercialism could they give to art that "devotion of heart and soul" that it required. In 1906 Hackett had demonstrated to his own satisfaction that the promises of commercialism were myths, that one impoverished his whole nature and that of the nation for rewards, if any, that were merely material.¹⁷ Hackett now hoped that the "mass of the people enslaved by commercialism" could be so changed that "thinking and feeling" would cease to be a "luxury" and become "a supreme help in the scramble for existence." As long as Anglo-Saxons were "predominantly commercial" they would "exhibit provincialism and sentimentalism," unaffected by his "indignant criticism." Chicago would remain "provincial," he warned Chicago's chauvinistic leaders, until America exorcised commercialism.¹⁸

As a consequence, Hackett fervently attacked "the ordinary Philistine prejudice against modern analytical writers" and the Philistine's effort to equate that prejudice

¹⁷As with much of Hackett's philosophy, all of this is highly reminiscent of the sociology of Thorstein Veblen whose own literary career is later entwined with that of Hackett. Hackett's view of commercial America and its relation to the society and culture will be more deeply examined in a later chapter. It is sufficient here to note that he described the relation between institutions, economics, and the total culture.

¹⁸Editorial, "Provincialism" (February 24, 1911), 4.

with normality, muscularity, and Christianity. Opposition to the modernists betrayed "the typical American man's burly idea of himself and his [equally fallacious] idea of Ibsen." It was, Hackett warned, the Philistine's ineffectiveness, that "unself-conscious,...untroubled,...hardy fighter," that made the "moderns intellectual and radical, critical and bitter." When Hackett listened to "Jones and Brown talk with fat patronizing smiles of an artist whom their muddy brains cannot comprehend," he was tempted to "look at the ivory tower with longing," but he resisted the temptation for good and explicit reasons.¹⁹

Hackett, as a "critic," considered himself to be "an agent of the public."²⁰ For this reason he hated the critic Arthur Symons' withdrawal from "reality," his disdain of the business of daily life, and his "limited sense of capacity for life."²¹ Hackett preferred a critic such as Frank Harris who, he said, regarded literature as connected with life to the W. C. Brownells who held that life was connected with literature.²² Academic critics seemed addicted to Brownell's fundamental error.

¹⁹Editorial, "The Maligned Modernist" (June 30, 1911), 4; Editorial, "Charmed Circles" (July 21, 1911), 2.

²⁰Editorial, "The Publishers" (April 30, 1909), 4.

²¹Francis Hackett, "The Quest for Beauty," a review of Arthur Symons' Plays, Acting and Music: A Book of Theory (June 4, 1909), 1.

²²Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 1, 1909), 1.

Why was the Atlantic Monthly, a "survival of the conservative impartial magazine," unpopular?²³ Hackett had great "misgivings" about the kind of culture offered by the Atlantic. He rejected the customary snobbish explanation that the journal was simply too elevated for the herd. Hackett took "radical exception" to John Jay Chapman's Atlantic comments on learning. Chapman's "able plea for scholarship" was limited because it was "academic." His criticism from "an ivory tower" of the general American attitude ignored the "common vicissitudes of American life." Chapman offered, Hackett significantly added, "absolute, not relative, criticism."²⁴

It was useless, our Jamesian Pragmatist continued, "to pretend that aspirations have any value unless related to the actual world we live in." Any philosophy which admired the high and the "stainless" and ignored the "necessities of the basement" produced only a feeble, narrow criticism which did "not correspond to life," a criticism that was not only "superfine" but "superfluous." In contrast

²³Few Americans read, also, the New York Nation. Americans, he said, should confess the national illiteracy. Editorial, "Book Sellers" (July 15, 1910), 4. Hackett had deep reservations, as we shall see, about the New York Nation.

²⁴Even William Lyon Phelps, Hackett held, needed to become less academic and less narrow. If Phelps could become a dualist regarding man he might understand why he preferred Satan in Paradise Lost. Phelps could not accept the "animal in man." Hackett, "Views of Contemporary Novelists," a review of William Lyon Phelps' Essays on Modern Novelists (January 21, 1910), 1.

even to some other Atlantic contributors, Chapman's view of learning was "sentimental and evasive." Indeed, it was "slavish obedience to tradition rather than barbaric or philistine ignorance of it" that was the mark of the contemporary American imaginative writer. Chapman argued for tradition. Hackett insisted, in earnest contradiction, that the "law of life" was "not to subserve but to adapt, not to conform but to change." Chapman did attack commercialism in America, but its hold would not be broken so long as Americans were "glibly invited to cherish such abstractions as 'ideas, art, enthusiasm, unselfishness, inspiring activity.'" It was unfair "to indict humanity from a superior activity." The "conditions and exigencies of average people" had to be considered. Art had to be "inclusive" as well as "exclusive," and education of the senses to noble gratification did not, as Chapman assumed, necessarily include the Greek language. Hackett insisted that the Atlantic Monthly, "or any periodical that maintain[ed] the academic conception of culture and refuse[d] to view the American situation pragmatically," could "never serve the community at large."²⁵

Berating people for their "offensive ignorance and monstrous impertinence" was certainly one of life's joys. But, though angry with provincialism and sentimentalism and

²⁵ Editorial, "Sterile Culture" (July 22, 1910), 4. The notion that conceptions of culture ultimately concerned a community-minded service was not only rather radical, but also a somewhat special definition of cultural nationalism.

with the popular failure to appreciate great writers, Hackett rejected the view that this was merely "offensive ignorance and monstrous impertinence." It was simple to dismiss the "entire bourgeoisie as servants of the Mammon of iniquity, and the entire proletaire as servants of the bourgeoisie," but the people failed to admire great literature for some reason besides inferiority. To the Anglo-Saxon, culture was a pastime, to men of culture such as Francis Grierson it was their whole life, yet neither attitude vitalized the national culture. The "intellectual snob" liked this division, but "the democrat," said Hackett, believed that "art exists for the people, not the people for art, and if there is a division he will help to bridge it."²⁶

The New York Nation had unfavorably compared the modern writer to "that familiar middle-aged gentleman known to

²⁶ Instead of berating the people from a high tower of purity, the critic, again, had to realize that this unfortunate division would prevail while Anglo-Saxon America remained "predominantly commercial." Editorial, "Provincialism" (February 24, 1911), 4. Hackett feared the effect of such a culture, as Chapman offered, as it affected the serious, inquiring, ambitious youth, John Morley had described the prig as a beast overstuffed for his dimensions, and, while priggishness supposedly had died with Ruskin, society busily converted the serious young man into a troubled prig, culturally overfed and rendered ill. "Too many books" were "thrust at the inquisitive youth, ... especially too many classics." He fed on Emerson, on Nietzsche, "on Greatness," until he began to have "nightmares of perfection" and grew convinced of his delinquency. As the "handmaiden of life" literature existed for its contributions to one's "experience" rather than for itself. Only a prig, Hackett added, owned a library containing nothing but "classic or 'improving' literature." Editorial, "Persecuting the Youth" (May 26, 1911), 4.

respectful classic scholars." The Nation, Hackett retorted, was a "defender of the classic world," publishing its "musty, middle-class" prejudices with the air of a "mortar board" Philistine and confusing classicism with the prejudices of the middle-class American.²⁷ Its artificial learning merely cloaked contemporary prejudices in the protective wrap of classical culture and did a grave injustice to both contemporary society and the classics. Learning paraded rather than used was "the sign of stucco culture."²⁸

As foolish as Phillips' confusion of real culture with sentimentalism was the conviction that culture was the province of the select and gifted few, the innately superior. Linking this concept with the hated polity of patrician aristocracies, Hackett nevertheless admitted that "exclusiveness" was "a foible of human nature." But while "real aristocrats" could not "profitably go partners with inferiors" the "reluctance of a snob to share his privileges" was something quite different. Quality, not privilege, was the item desired. Hackett grew "very weary of his esoteric and aristocratic brethren, of the 'fit and

²⁷Editorial, "The Maligned Modernist" (June 30, 1911), 4.

²⁸Editorial, "Long Words" (July 7, 1911), 2. Like Arnold Bennett, Hackett felt that affected refinement was somewhat more regrettable than hobnailed bluntness. Editorial, "A Blunt Opinion" (July 7, 1911), 2. Even so, Hackett believed that the "culturene" that so annoyed Phillips, like the disinterested mob beaten about the apathetic head with classics, was a product of commercialism in American life. Editorial, "Sentimentalists" (July 14, 1911), 2.

few.'" The "dull and complacent" mob might anger him and make him irritably long for that "ivory tower," but when he considered the mistakes that the esoteric had made, he realized that "aristocracy" guaranteed nothing. The aristocratic had not first appreciated Lincoln.²⁹

The division between art and the people was serious, but equally serious was the failure to see that different people were stirred in different ways. If the depths were unaffected the "recipe" was "not more classics, but more reflection or more stimulus." Literature, again, existed not for itself but for its contribution to "experience." The "Chautauquans" who prescribed culture must be ignored; "real taste never yet was formed on Best Books." Culture's effect was relative to personality and experience and could not be prescribed. Brander Matthews angered Hackett by laying down literary rules, prescribing for Hackett and other readers what to like and what not to like. "The business of book criticism," Hackett maintained, "is not mysterious."³⁰ Life needed art; art needed life. Neither could or should be prescribed. They should be experienced.

Another serious obstacle to bridging that vast gap between art and the people was that created by disparate writers who rejected both the genteel high-brow and the

²⁹Editorial, "Charmed Circles" (July 21, 1911), 2.

³⁰Editorial, "To A Book Reviewer" (June 2, 1911), 4; Editorial, "Persecuting the Youth" (May 26, 1911), 4; Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Spring Books" (March 18, 1910), 1.

"burly" low-brow views of culture. Among this group of writers were many Bohemians and many Socialists. Hackett did not believe the simplistic concept, generally associated with Bohemia, that one who freely entered life thereby produced literature. A writer could, for example, find the stimulus of excitement even in wedlock, although in America and England the unfortunate necessity for respectability produced a great strain on artists. For some the spice necessary to creativity quite likely had to be found outside home and propriety.³¹ It was not improper behavior that bothered Hackett and the FLR but rather the assumption that any behavior produced literature. License did not guarantee insight. While one did not have to be morally good to write well, it was naive to assume that bad conduct led to good writing.³² The cult of conduct could in fact interfere with the articulation of vital experience.

Hackett was not concerned with the writer's sexual morality but with his freedom to be "self-controlled." He rejected the notion that "great art" was "a progress through the very depths of society." To him the "self-conscious cult of vice, the unnatural 'naturalness' of such young men as George Moore depicted in his confessions," guaranteed nothing. Indeed, the writer who thought that "abandonment"

³¹Editorial, "Should Writers Marry?" (October 15, 1909), 4.

³²Editorial, "How to Write Well" (January 7, 1910), 4.

was the step toward "self-realization" was "an amateur in life." Hackett asserted that "Jane Austen in her mittens was a greater artist and more profound experienter than the majority of young poets with second-hand vine leaves in their hair." The "ebullition" of passions, and not their "indulgence," marked the artist. Genius did not worship darkness.³³ The discovery of self was not necessarily productive of art when that discovery took the perverted forms of self-indulgence, ego-exaggeration, or a cult of conduct pursued particularly for its atypical experience.

Similar to the conviction of simplistic Bohemians that dirt and license bred art was another reaction against American conventions that also threatened to limit the writer's vision, sympathies, and his art. "Against the undeveloped individuality whose tepid motto is 'live and let live,'" Hackett said, America had produced "the exaggerated ego" of H. L. Mencken, Percival Pollard, George S. Viereck, and Upton Sinclair, who "tried to restore equilibrium either in the immoralist way, after the historic fashion of a parson's son, or in the moralist's way, in the principle of a suffragette." This cult of the ego led away from rather than toward articulation of the people's experience. Like all critics these egotists should think less of their audience and more about the things that interested them. They would then better guide the public which, "whatever its

³³Editorial, "The Marriage Shackle" (April 15, 1910),
4.

faults, more and more desires a greater wisdom and a greater delectation."³⁴ Hackett had little patience, as he pointed out in a very non-Menckonian eruption, with those easy slanders "that the people are lazy and stupid" and that "they adore false gods and sin against the light." From whatever pulpit, such statements could severely limit the writer's vision.³⁵

Both the genteel snob and the exaggerated ego missed the essential point; art existed for the people; isolated from them it was perverted. Socialism could also limit both the writer and the reader's vision of literature as "a means of life." Arnold Bennett, for instance, was one of the very few Socialists who recognized on precisely this ground the value of the classics.³⁶ If the Socialist could reject meaningful literature on the sanction of theory, the subjective critic could entirely miss significant articulations.

Partly because it might isolate the literary critic from concerns vital to literature, Hackett betrayed a strong distrust of impressionism as practiced by some critics. Although he recognized its contemporary advantages, he suspected unqualified impressionism.³⁷ In that day of

³⁴Editorial, "American Criticism" (January 20, 1911)
4.

³⁵Editorial, "Provincialism" (February 24, 1911), 4.

³⁶Editorial, "The Classics Defended" (February 11, 1910), 4.

³⁷Too easily labelled an impressionist, Hackett was, as we shall see, at least as accurately and as incompletely

conventional moral and conventional aesthetic criticism of art he did find great virtue in honest, individual impressionism. Arthur Symons' tendency, the easiest, equating quality with that which pleased oneself, was "a much more honest tendency than is usually supposed." While there was "no such thing as an aesthetic philosophy pure and absolute," by indulging his "temperament" and "personality" Symons was not a "critic but an artist," and his impressions of art were only "the impressions of his own ravishment or boredom." The impressionist granted to a performer and a work the moods created by the performance or work in him, "no matter how personal or even accidental" they were. The "typical critic" adjusted himself and that which he witnessed to outside "standards moral and aesthetic," but impressionists relied on their own feelings. Symons, of course, had critical standards and the typical critic had feelings, but the latter were frequently undependable because they were filtered through crippling preconceptions. Nevertheless, there were also "apparent" defects in the impressionists' criticism.

Symons' own sensitive impressions lamentably were "not balanced by a corresponding cultivation of his social and pragmatic sense...." His essays were limited in "criticism"

described by Duffey as a Fabian Socialist in literary criticism. Both elements are there, but they do not explain the essential substance. This present study seeks to suggest a more complete picture of Hackett's criticism.

and good in "rhapsody." Preoccupation with "his own sensations" led the impressionist into humorless and "irresponsible" comments. The withdrawal from daily reality, a danger in impressionism, was reflected in Symons' disdain for George Bernard Shaw, a civic activist who lived deeply and responsibly.³⁸ That much of impressionism which liberated the critic pleased Hackett; that which tended toward mysticism, art for the sake of impressionism, disturbed him.³⁹

Critic Francis Thompson's comments on John Bunyan well demonstrated to Hackett "the dangers of pure subjective criticism." Instead of analyzing Bunyan's fame and explaining why he thought it lacked real foundation,

³⁸Francis Hackett, "The Quest for Beauty," a review of Arthur Symons' Plays, Acting and Music: A Book of Theory (June 4, 1909), 1. Considering impressionism, Hackett backed off from the complete relativism of criticism from entirely individualistic taste. By this, he pointed out, an "unhealthy soul" could be "seduced" by unhealthy things. While "beauty" could not be "improper," and while "ethics" were things "arranged by tired people in middle age," Hackett distrusted the astigmatic "neurasthenia in the ordinary aesthete" who preferred things he considered beautiful even though they conflicted with morality. Reliance on one's own impressions incurred the critical risk of reproducing inadequate impressions. Concentration on the "nerves" could create in criticism a serious imbalance.

³⁹The FLR quoted without comment a statement from the London Times which held that criticism was merely the expression of the critic's preferences, but that criticism became art when the critic sought a principle to account for those preferences. (January 28, 1910), 4. Hackett chided William Dean Howells for denying that George Meredith was a "great artist" on the simple grounds that he, Howells, could not read him. Editorial, "The Fad for Meredith" (May 20, 1910), 4.

Thompson had merely asserted "that Bunyan was a beast." This was especially humorous because a magazine, The Critic (1897), had accused this same Thompson of writing with second-hand feelings and borrowed convictions. While Hackett did not "deny the faculty of taste," and believed that everyone recognized the existence of "innate taste," he did emphatically deny the infallibility of those who possessed it. If a faculty could be "educated, cultivated and corrected," it could "fail to be educated,...cultivated, ...corrected." Critics who had earlier despised Wagner were then unaware that "their faculty had to be cultivated and corrected." Since he felt none, Thompson assumed Bunyan had no beauty, but self-examination should have told him that he could never like Bunyan. Thompson had merely referred to his own taste and thereby distinguished himself from the true critic, who knew that "genuine feeling" was the "essence of all artistic expression" but that even excellent men were at times open to poor art and closed to greatness. Unreflective tests by taste had betrayed many critics: Arnold had sneered at Shelley, Ruskin at Whistler, Tolstoy at Shakespeare, and Henry James had patronized Whitman.

Four "eminent" men had regarded their "insusceptibilities as a test of beauty." They had not appreciated because they had not recognized their own "limitations." The critic could not simply praise what pleased him and condemn that which displeased, "'intuition' notwithstanding."

The critic had to make "due allowance" for criticism's "defective instrument, the instrument of self." Nor could he simply "understand" the artist; he had to judge him after understanding, and his distinctions had to be "rational distinctions." The critic, Hackett added, had frequently to recall that beauty concerned "feeling rather than... understanding." But "true beauty," neither "blind" nor "insensate," was "perceptive and secure."⁴⁰

The good critic, true to his own impressions, always self-critical, had to cultivate "his social and pragmatic sense." Hackett, far from being a simplistic impressionist open to everything labelled "modern," was a sensitive, journalist-critic deeply concerned about the national culture and the puzzling relations between literature, morality, beauty, and contemporary society. He was most concerned with the cultural content of American lives because he was much concerned with their lives.

Hackett distrusted all criticism which sought to isolate the artist from daily life. He condemned any attempt to portray human nature as better or worse than it was. Therefore he defended realism's candid prose while chiding those "realists" who assumed that reality was only dark. He understood the European source of the new candor in the Anglo-Saxon novel, especially Tolstoy (who would, as the

⁴⁰ Beauty, grasped in intuition, was "best expressed not as a sensation but an illumination...." Editorial, "Taste" (June 10, 1910), 4.

London Times said, reveal eagerly what others most concealed), but, Hackett cautioned, "candor such as Tolstoy's" required discretion as hard as "the conventional man's discretion;" the "candor of genius should not encourage the megalomaniac, the sick soul, the bore or the Enfant Terrible."⁴¹ Nevertheless, Hackett attacked Theodore Watts-Dunton who, in Harper's magazine, had so greatly misunderstood "the artistic aims of the new century" as to dismiss modern literature as "the quest of the ugly" and "the most squalid, cynical realism." It was, Hackett decided, "just as well that a healthy fear of the new century should prevail in some quarters."⁴²

Ellen Glasgow's Romance of a Plain Man, when published in 1909, shocked Hackett. He found in it a "determined adherence to the ancient coincidences and still more ancient sentimentalisms of yesteryear," which jarred him "into realizing that ideas are slow to permeate, that the contrast between Cook County and McHenry...[was] nothing to the contrast between Shaw and Glasgow." Her superficial and conventional novel included not only romantic love, romantic money-making, and stale ideas, but also the lost opportunity of truthfully revealing the money-maker, of portraying the real romance of American life and universal

⁴¹Editorial, "Reticence in Fiction" (April 9, 1909), 4.

⁴²Editorial, "To the Rescue" (April 9, 1909), 4.

moral life.⁴³ He could not agree with Symons that emotions were dumb and "dirty," that daily life was disgusting. He distrusted any literature which made men inhuman brutes or supermen heroes: reticence in biography led to sentimentalism instead of reality, to hypocrisy instead of daylight.⁴⁴ But there was a real danger that the desire to paint Cromwell with his warts might lead to the painting of Cromwell precisely because he had warts, to a "joyless art" which morbidly sought out the "unpleasant."⁴⁵

Hackett said that the London Times' attack on Ibsen's Hedda Gabler "as the art of evil" demonstrated that the "method of the great realists" was yet "misrepresented, their purpose maligned, and their achievements still belittled." America considered the "services of realism" unimportant. Putting realism in its historical perspective, the struggle against sentimentalism and foolish romances, Hackett agreed with George Meredith that the danger had been in the view that human nature was better than it really was. Struggling against the "sentimentalist who wanted a prettified version of life," Hackett pointed out, and the "aesthete who wanted an 'arrangement' of life," realism had "insisted upon detail...whether gay or grim, delightful

⁴³Francis Hackett, "Amateur Romance," a review of Ellen Glasgow's Romance of a Plain Man (May 14, 1909), 1.

⁴⁴Francis Hackett, "The Quest for Beauty," a review of Arthur Symons' Plays, Acting and Music: A Book of Theory (June 4, 1909), 1; Editorial, "Meredith's Parentage" (June 4, 1909), 4.

⁴⁵Editorial, "Realism" (October 22, 1909), 4.

or horrible." Therefore the realists had been accused of immorality, sinful because they described sin. For some "realists" there was truth in this: "The liberty which was assumed by the supreme and courageous realists, and employed by them in the wholesome establishment of truth pleasant or unpleasant, was at the same time grasped by mundane writers of prurient and mischievous breed."

Attacks on realism, Hackett added, really attacked different groups of writers without distinguishing them. The "quasi-realists" were sincere, but sincerity did not make valid that which was unproportioned and unenlightened. They attacked not "false delicacy" but "all delicacy." The "semi-realists" were at best only "photographers, giving sedulous and unimaginative report of the state of things as they are." Their tedious method, while without "great moral defect," missed "inspiration, the romance of life," and thus became "misrepresentative, tiresome and futile." Even the "scrupulous realist" fell prey to the vice inherent in any "conscious literary method, the vice of obsession," the painting of Cromwell because he was blemished. The serious realist, an idealist sensitive to injustice, to "suffering and distress," by his very virtues tended to produce a literature which violated the "injunction that 'art and joy go together.'" It was this artistic defect, not immorality, that then made "realistic art incomplete and contributory." The "very critical salt" of realism prevented it from providing "steady and universal sustenance."

Like everything purposeful, Hackett said significantly, its usefulness ended with the fulfillment of its "purpose."

He believed that because realism was preoccupied with facts it frequently became an "indictment not only of the existing social order, but of human nature" which permitted and sustained that order. But Meredith "and his kind" cared no more for this "recoil from life itself" than they did for "simpering and inane sentimentalism." Hackett admired Meredith partly because Meredith had never been so intellectual as to pursue logic to the condemnation of "his own survival." Meredith, self-aware but not self-preoccupied, held to that "common sense" which was "'the sacred chain of man to man.'" Meredith probed "Institutions and Establishments in the comic spirit," but those unfortunates who had known such things as the "cruel bureaucracy of Russia," possessing a far more "passionate democratic sympathy," had created "an art more direct and more realistic." If the terms of that art were not "universal," it was sufficient to Hackett that the Russian realists' "troubled spiritual experience" had "imminent application in America. Americans who did not accept this only postponed "their own self-realization, whether to be expressed in the art of literature or the art of life." If Meredith correctly held that "realism was made necessary because men continued to deny philosophy" then, said Hackett, "the uses of realism

persist," and the anti-realists were too quick to deny both the "unpleasant and...philosophy."⁴⁶

Hackett applied his suggestions, for example, in a review of I. Querido's Toil of Men. Hackett's major objection to this realist's novel was Querido's unrelieved view of society. Hackett tested Querido not only by his command of his techniques and materials but also by their relevancy to life. Querido portrayed the bourgeoisie only as a grasping creature. Querido was sincere, had experienced life, and tried to convey what he had felt, a personal communication that, while not guaranteeing excellence, did make it possible for craft to become art. Furthermore, Querido had provided not mere sympathy for the oppressed but an "interpretation" of their "tragic disability." The main character's struggle with his environment and his disintegration gave the novel tragic value, but like the "inferior realistic novel," Upton Sinclair's The Jungle,

⁴⁶Editorial, "Realism" (October 22, 1909), 4. Hackett's probable meaning of "philosophy" will be suggested later in this chapter. I have made a conscious effort to avoid building systems and making connections in Hackett's mind which may not have existed. The editorial and review nature of Hackett's expressions render them more fragmented than extended essays might have done. Where the substitution of allusion for explanation is deliberate, it is done in the interest of a greater, not a lesser, accuracy. In the text, while "semi-realists" are obviously the "naturalists," the term and all of its connotations are not demonstrably commanded by Hackett at this time. The reader will also note that a full command of and agreement with Thorstein Veblen is not assumed for similar reasons. There are "Magazine Critique" references to Veblen, but it is presently impossible to tell how much Hackett knew of Veblen prior to Hackett's New Republic years.

Querido's Toil of Men failed to relieve the monotony of their misery, failed entirely to witness the moments of joy and love in the lives of the poor.⁴⁷

The realism in literature that Hackett called for was endangered not only by conventional morality and conventional reticence but also by bad realism. Most critics objected to Sudermann's Song of Songs because it gustily portrayed "the evil in human nature." Hackett especially detested the Outlook's attack on Sudermann's frankness about sexual immorality, as if frankness were necessarily brutal when about sex, but it was Sudermann's "gross disillusion" and "theatrical balderdash" which were really as regrettable as the Outlook's narrowness.⁴⁸ Frankness itself was not undesirable, for to "be ignorant" was "to be vulnerable." Freedom had its dangers but the dangers of freedom were necessary for evolution. A free literature was a prime requisite, but a "realism" that portrayed only evil and misery in a deterministic human condition was not free and would not bridge that gap between literature and the people. Realists such as James Oppenheim, Hackett asserted, wanted to write for America as Dostoevsky had written for Russia, but could not "until respectability"

⁴⁷Francis Hackett, "The Novel of the Week," a review of I. Querido's Toil of Men (October 22, 1909), 1.

⁴⁸Editorial, "Sudermann's Frankness" (February 11, 1910), 4.

was "destroyed," for it suppressed "facts" in America the moment they were uncovered.⁴⁹

By the summer of 1911 Hackett had come to the depressing conclusion that American literary "realism," instead of maturing, had suffered a reversal. While "tendencies in literature" were "not easy to detect," Hackett suspected that with the deaths of Frank Norris and David Graham Phillips, men who had not "matured as novelists" but who had a "fine attention" and "discrimination about life" (which were the first essentials of great novelists), there was now a setback in the effort "to interpret the soul of the people." This unfinished "great work" of Norris and Phillips was not being forwarded despite the considerable merits of Howells, Herrick, London, and Whitlock. Except for the somewhat handicapped work of Robert Herrick, the "veristic tradition" was "halted."⁵⁰

There was, Hackett realized, no single novelist who could be "veristic for all America," and America could not in the complete sense have a Balzac. America had not yet had an "interpreter" who could discover in American "cities and towns and hamlets, in our provincial and metropolitan manners, in our national aspirations and deficiencies, that spiritual correlation and justification which is, in

⁴⁹Editorial, "Who is to Judge" (February 25, 1910), 4; Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Spring Books" (March 24, 1911), 1.

⁵⁰The term "veritism" was Hamlin Garland's description of realism in literature. See Garland's Crumbling Idols. Hackett was much aware of Garland's best work.

its finest sense, veristic fiction." Perhaps in some error about France, Balzac had at least reached into the real "modes and motives by which France, to him, was living," and no one had yet described those modes and motives for America. America needed a novelist who realized that it was "emotion and the preciousness of emotion" which were "alone...important in a novel," a novelist who could reveal "each of his characters' personal, vital consciousness of life, his real desires, his real fears, his doubts and wonders," for otherwise the novelist's fiction would be invalid. The "method" might be "romantic or realistic, the drama sociological or psychological," but the fact that life was a "fight about which even the pragmatic and sardonic Hoosier" was troubled alone justified fiction. How much were Hoosiers more than "guinea pigs?" Balzac, even Norris and Phillips, would have tried to answer that question. "All else," said Hackett, was "contraption."⁵¹

Hackett denied that realism deserved the stigmas "drab" and "gray." Perhaps there had been something drab in that change from "mid-century faith and sentiment to the so-called scientific fiction--the fiction of elated and eluded facts," but realism had had "wider associations" than with the "sordid and crapulous." Adherence to facts did not necessarily produce boring or depressing deterministic reports, but, rather, could "preserve an accent in

⁵¹Editorial, "The Provincial American" (April 21, 1911), 4.

imaginary work" absent in mere craft. "Life has an idiom far more stimulating and suggestive than the idiom of personal fancy." One could call it "realism or not," Hackett believed, but there was in the "creative activity of life a 'rightness'" unrivaled by imagination, and the artist who got "life direct" achieved "the greatest originality," while the artist who substituted "his own idea of life for the realism of it" would "suffer with each revisionary reader." The creative writer of realism brought forth "the true image of things," recognizing that "art was selective" but that his selection depended on his grasp of reality.⁵²

Hackett and Dell busily defended those perceivers of "reality" whom the FLR called "modern analytical writers," and resented, for example, the attack on Shaw, Ibsen, Wells, Galsworthy, Nietzsche, and D'Annunzio, "most horribly jumbled up" by the New York Nation and accused of not being pagan because they were individualistic, self-conscious, and not good fighters. Suppressing hysterics produced by this vision of the Nation as pagan, "blithely Mediterranean, wearing vine leaves in its hair," Hackett held that such ignorance made no more sense than if one lumped Robert LaFollette, Victor Berger, Louis Brandeis, and Jane Addams together. That classic man defended by the Nation was really "John Smith, who hates truck like Ibsen, who hates the 'modern' or intellectual spirit, who wants the

⁵²Third Editorial, "Straight from Life" (July 7, 1911), 2.

good old ways, who is frightened and irritated by these people who he supposes will try to 'topple over society,' who is disgusted by the things in human nature they bring to light ('muckrakers,' he calls them contemptuously) and who wishes to express his contempt for them by accusing them of morbidity, cowardice, egoism, self-indulgence and immorality." As much as Hackett and Dell had reservations about many of these writers and about many muckrakers, they agreed more with them than with their mindless detractors. There was, of course, no "company spirit in modern analytic genius," but there was a vital contest between Philistine masquerading as classicist and the intellectual, between John Smith and the radical. The Philistine thought the modernist morbid with thought, but that Philistine did "not know enough to acknowledge his desires, the first step toward governing them," and his "hypocrisy, his hallmark,... created the essential untruthfulness which the modernist" assailed. Truth was on the side of the modernist in "the sad case of Genius v. Smith."⁵³

Freedom's Fetters

If the modern writer was to discover the ways of modern American life and portray its raw facts covered by respectability, he had to be free. Hackett, in 1906, had presented sketchy but Veblenistic conclusions concerning

⁵³ Editorial, "The Maligned Modernist" (June 30, 1911), 4.

the commercial dominance of newspapers in America. His first FLR predictions, 1909, were that American book publishers would support good literature and good journalism. Perhaps this was merely a public statement designed to foster an attitude which he well knew did not exist. He soon made it clear that he regarded the publishers' dedication to profit rather than to literature one of the serious obstacles to the desired cultural revolution.

By their early reaction to the FLR, Hackett had said, American publishers demonstrated that they desired real criticism of their books. He did not then say that they were partly to blame for the multitude of bad books printed each year. But by October, 1909, Hackett had begun to attack with a vengeance the duplicity of American publishers.⁵⁴ Perhaps stirred by publishers' tricks, Hackett's editorial, "The Campaign Against Sincerity," bitterly abused most American publishers for their war on

⁵⁴He attacked one publisher for not indicating that the single-titled volume was a collection of short stories rather than a novel. Second Editorial, "If the Publisher Please" (October 8, 1909), 4. A similar attack and then rejection of Bobbs-Merrill's defense appeared in November the next year. See Editorial, "A Bad Custom" (November 4, 1910), 4, and Hewitt Hanson Howland's defense for Bobbs-Merrill of the firm's publication under single-title of Whitlock's stories. Another publisher's device, which like the above is still practiced, was the misrepresentation of a critic's review. On April 8, 1910, an advertisement entirely misrepresented Hackett's comments on Winston Churchill's novel, A Modern Chronicle. Subsequent advertisements in the FLR did not cite Hackett, and on April 15, 1910 (p. 6), the FLR pointed out MacMillan's gross manipulation of Hackett's review.

sincerity, their blatant commercialism, and their instructions to writers to produce what the public wanted. Although he rejected the notion that "to be popular you have to be subservient," Hackett recognized that most publishers were calico-salesmen who regarded that notion as an article of faith. Arnold Bennett had been right to assert that when the public was "cognizant" it preferred, in Hackett's words, "the genuine to the sham, the heartfelt to the hyper-critical and the spontaneous to the forced." Relieving the public, in the long run, from some of the blame, Hackett now held the publishers responsible for the superabundance of wasteful, popular novels.⁵⁵

Most of the fiction to be published in 1910, "as usual," was "without critical sense," and sold only to "entertain or to elude." Some publishers produced serious fiction, evident in the recent turn to drama publication, but publishers generally printed what would sell rather than what deserved sale. Even the publishers admitted the difference; that, Hackett sighed, was "the one truly hopeful sign of the trade today." They told him how good their books were, but occasional confidences revealed that they did not believe their own advertisements. "Publishers," he said, betrayed "no silly devotion to the truth." They

⁵⁵Editorial, "The Campaign Against Sincerity" (April 8, 1910), 4. Hackett often complained that entirely too many books were published. The racket needed a Gifford Pinchot and a eugenioist who "might wish the activity sprawled less and mounted more;" and that "the machine-made novel, the Dead Soul, were less frequently fostered." Hackett, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 7, 1910), 1.

wanted to persuade the critic.⁵⁶ Publishers had always printed either what they chose or "Mrs. Grundy" allowed. Now one publisher had nastily added a third choice by printing deMaupassant's Boule de Suif and enclosed an apology to Mrs. Grundy for doing it.⁵⁷ Hackett most felt the publishers' "essential insincerity" and frank commercialism when he regarded the mountain of useless Christmas gift books. After many trips to New York, he decided that American literary "greatness" would never be discerned in publishers' announcements. It was in the "heart of America that the seed must ripen."⁵⁸

The "shocked remarks of several publishers" who had rejected Upton Sinclair's Love's Pilgrimage disgusted

⁵⁶Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 7, 1910), 1; Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 14, 1910), 1. Young George Soule watched as George Morrow, a chief executive at the Frederick A. Stokes publishing company, relieved Hackett: "Francis Hackett was widely recognized as the leading critic of the current journals. Morrow tried, with too obvious an attempt to be diplomatic to put pressure on him to pay more attention to Stokes' books. Morrow referred to the fact that Stokes advertised its wares generously in the Evening Post. Hackett replied with controlled but eloquent fury....He wrote the reviews, he said, without reference to anything but the merit of the books in question. He was not for sale, and if Morrow did not like the way he did his job, Stokes could damn well stop advertising in the Post. But that would not make the slightest difference in Hackett's choice of books to review or what he wrote about them. If commercial pressure should by any chance endanger his job, he would rather dig ditches than compromise his integrity." Quoted in Kramer, Chicago Renaissance, 105.

⁵⁷Editorial, "Mrs. Grundy" (December 9, 1910), 4.

⁵⁸Editorial, "The Problem" (December 16, 1910), 4; Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Spring Books" (March 17, 1911), 1.

Hackett. It might not be great literature, but Sinclair simply could not write an "'immoral'" book. The publishers had weighed a bit of "merchandise," and "fear of being called immoral, not fear of actual immorality," had prevented several from publishing it. Public purchase daily confirmed their conviction that trash outsold literature. Americans read "charlatans like Thomas Dixon and entertainers like R. W. Chambers" rather than an unsold novel by H. G. Wells that impressed Miss Jane Addams.⁵⁹ The fault was ultimately with the system, not with the culpable publishers or the culturally impoverished public.

American newspapers, like most publishers, did not promise writers, readers, or critics much support for the necessary revolt. They did not provide a home for a free literature. Hackett feared that the newspapers would remain in bondage to their advertisers and that the newspaper reviewer would remain only the voice of newspaper publisher as advertiser, a publisher's hack. Although Hackett completely disagreed with the dramatic criticism that William Winter wrote for the New York Tribune, he severely attacked the Tribune for interfering with Winter's criticism because Tribune advertisers were displeased. The Tribune's action was clearly against the public interest. He contrasted the New York paper's treatment of its critic with

⁵⁹Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Spring Books" (March 24, 1911), 1. One may indeed feel that Hackett is long on complaint and short on concrete cure, especially the means of dissolving the chain--criticism, he believed, was a curative acid.

the Westminster Gazette's proper response. In England the Gazette supported its critic in a dispute with theatrical producer George Edwards who regarded advertisement expenditure as hush money. Granted that the critic was not always right, unscientific and dangerous though he seemed to business, he had to be free to serve ideas, truth and beauty. Critics made mistakes, but they should be shown their errors "openly and above board."⁶⁰

If anything, Hackett's attack on venal newspapers was now more severe than in 1906. Did not American newspapers foster opinions injurious to "the commonwealth" but favorable to the proprietors, to big advertisers, and to politicians who could be influenced? Editors and writers were encouraged to satisfy the established powers.⁶¹ The New York Times defended commercialism, and Hackett especially detested the Times' assertion that one could not behave destructively and yet prosper. Quite the contrary, he said, for "one horrible and startling fact of modern journalism and modern civilization is that there is profit in baseness." The writer who pursued journalistic success through idealism, honesty, and accuracy was doomed. Success in the market place was no criteria at all of a man's worth to the

⁶⁰Editorial, "The Box Office" (August 27, 1909), 4; Editorial, "Critic and Advertiser" (November 5, 1909), 4. Bullock's London letter also commented on the Edwards story. Editorial, "The Stab in the Dark" (March 25, 1910), 4, in connection with anonymous letters.

⁶¹Editorial, "The Crux in Journalism" (July 2, 1909), 4.

nation. Hackett bitterly rejected the "old" argument that the fittest survived.⁶²

Hackett rejected the remedy that Shaw and Percy McKaye, among others, eagerly proposed to combat the evils of commercially controlled cultural expression. They wanted to replace the commercial theater with the endowed theater. All good critics, Hackett held, agreed that the theater was presently rotten, but theatrical control by trustees could stifle art as surely as control by the public box office. Fine art for the many would come only when the many learned to desire it and the artist learned genuine expression in terms of the many. While the endowed theater might help, it was no panacea, no adequate substitute for the requisite revolution in the soul of man. When the endowed theater grew strong, Hackett pointed out, it would become only a haven of the respectable. Far more likely to produce genuine

⁶²Editorial, "Modern Journalism" (January 21, 1910), 4; Editorial, "Neglected Genius" (May 14, 1909), 4. The young writer was taught to express not his own thoughts and feelings, but what others, the public, the editor, the proprietors, thought and felt. Any "copy of each of the papers in town" would demonstrate that honesty and idealism were not successful in journalism. See, Hackett angrily remarked, "what a beautiful spirit is to be seen in every paragraph." Editorial, "The Youthful Writer" (March 4, 1910), 4. Hackett disagreed with his own correspondent, Shan F. Bullock, that success in the writing market was a criteria to the writer's national merit. The public supported the entertainer, the sensationalist. Editorial, "Neglected Genius" (May 14, 1909), 4. The young writer, for instance, was controlled in many ugly ways. How, Hackett asked, could one "expect assertiveness and irreconcilable idealism from a man who is obliged to support the average helpless wife with her average helpless infants? The young writer has given much too serious a hostage to his employer for that." Editorial, "The Youthful Writer" (March 4, 1910), 4.

literary results, he suggested, would be an experimental theater writing vital drama on Whitmanesque lines. The theater question was important when public opinion was corruptly managed and when Shaw rightly held, said Hackett, that the modern theater formed the minds of contemporary urban populations far more than did the schools. At any rate, something had to be done about the ethics of the businessmen who debauched the American theater.⁶³

The next year Hackett indicated that his fears had been demonstrably justified. Of course the ideas of endowed theaters liberating real cultural expression presumed that there were stifled American geniuses who might not exist at all. But the crucial point was that writers should be free, not only free from business control but truly free. Liberation from the businessman might become bondage to the "vanity of the philanthropist." The recent case of the Abbey Theater in Dublin had confirmed Hackett's suspicions. When William Butler Yeats and the Abbey Players had failed to close for King Edward's death, their patroness had withdrawn her financial support. This "despotism of the patron" was as evil as the "despotism of the box office." Until endowment was made without strings, Hackett preferred "to see art subjected to business than... to the whims and vanities and prejudices...of a person who

⁶³Francis Hackett, "A Dramatist's Ideals," a review of Percy MacKaye's Playhouse and the Play (May 28, 1909), 1.

imagines he wants to free an institution but in reality only wants to make it his fashionable or cultural annex."⁶⁴ Cultural expression could be stymied in many open and direct ways, and commercial control by the advertiser was not the only ugly method.

Open censorship was as disturbing as hidden control.⁶⁵ Hackett frequently commented on and covered extensively that great struggle in 1909 over theatrical censorship in England by a formal board of censors. Hackett sided with the major English writers in opposition, Shaw and Galsworthy and many others. Although America had no such formal theatrical censorship, neither did its theater offer ideas to censor.⁶⁶ Closer to home, two incidents of Chicago censorship greatly disturbed Hackett and the FLR. He irascibly

⁶⁴Hackett would retain these fears of philanthropically supported cultural media. He feared Willard Straight's connection with the New Republic. He would not, Fanny Butcher perceptively indicated, have been happy with the Freeman's Swift money backing. Editorial, "Sham Philanthropy" (June 17, 1910), 4; Telephone interview with Fanny Butcher.

⁶⁵Hackett believed that any censoring of literature revolted "every man of free and independent opinion." The folly of censorship was "in the notion that men" in 1910 would submit "to benevolent intellectual despotism" which secured "safety at the expense of freedom." Everyone knew, Hackett asserted, that "development of the best kind depends upon freedom." Editorial, "Who is to Judge" (February 25, 1910), 4.

⁶⁶Editorial, "The Censorship" (August 27, 1909), 4. On page eight of the same issue are extensive quotations from the writers' angry and able comments to the censorship committee. The writers included, in addition to Shaw and Galsworthy, Granville Barker, J. M. Barrie, Henry James, Joseph Conrad, Thomas Hardy, H. G. Wells, and Arnold Bennett.

suggested that the Chicago police sergeant who had removed certain lines he deemed immoral from Edward Sheldon's play, "The Nigger", take out the same lines in all copies of the play in the Chicago bookstores. "Next," Hackett advised, "the active and puritan police must attempt to censor humanity itself. Every reference to the unruly facts of life and every contaminating expression of passion should be prohibited."⁶⁷ That same Christmas season, 1910, the opera Salome was hastily withdrawn from Chicago.⁶⁸ The writer in America also desperately needed to be free from the less tangible controls exercised by morality, convention, and tradition.

Hackett believed that an American realism was needed to make articulate the experiences of the people, but by this he did not mean the expression of the conventional wisdom through conventional utterance. Quite the opposite. Conventional wisdom had to be transcended before real

⁶⁷Editorial, "Police Censorship" (December 2, 1910), 8. William Hard, prominent American journalist, had written the FLR from Evanston on November 28, 1910, knowing, he said, that Hackett's FLR was pleased with this recent censorship in Chicago's ART, and suggested that in a certain play where a bastard was born between acts the interact might be snipped and the curtain not fall. Hard could also picture a cop's reaction to a blind beggar (Homer) wandering about the streets singing about a loose woman. Furthermore, Hard suggested, considering the cop's role as literary critic, should not civil service exams include questions on aesthetics? Perhaps some of Hackett's reviewers might seek employment with the mayor of Chicago. Hard to Editor, November 18, 1910 (December 2, 1910).

⁶⁸Editorial, "The Freedom of Art" (December 30, 1910), 4. It should, Hackett thought, have been possible to make the case for art so clear "that even a police officer or newspaper editor would recognize the supererogatory nature of their efforts on behalf of virtue." The London Nation suggested that the opera had not upset London as it had New York and Chicago, because London had viewed it artistically and not as a moralist away from home.

utterance of the people's experience could be artistically and usefully expressed. Any writer or critic who chose as his guide the rumblings of the "low-brow," the second-rate, was in error. Hackett praised Whitman because Whitman had voiced the national democracy, but not with the voice of demos.⁶⁹ Popularity, success in the market place, was certainly no index to the writer's substance or value, for such success went to that sensational writer who required the least mental strain from his readers. The public was indifferent to this trend and would remain at least partly uncivilized and brutal as long as it remained indifferent.⁷⁰

The tug of convention had gravely limited the critical writings of even the best academic critic, William Lyon Phelps. Prone to academic stiffness, Phelps addressed the mediocre rather than the most intelligent members of his audience, and thus the more subtle ideas did not appear in his essays. Because he did not "respond to unconventional forms of beauty" Phelps could not discuss the more "interesting and important contemporary writers." He had an able style, avoided perfunctory comment, and even included

⁶⁹Editorial, "Low-Brows" (April 16, 1909), 4; Francis Hackett, "The American Genius," a review of George R. Carpenter's Walt Whitman (April 30, 1909), 1.

⁷⁰Editorial, "Neglected Genius" (May 14, 1909), 4; Editorial, "Meredith's Parentage" (June 4, 1909), 4; Francis Hackett, "Southern Issues," a review of Nicholas Worth's The Southern (September 24, 1909), 1; Editorial, "Realism" (October 22, 1909), 4; Editorial, "How to Write Well" (January 7, 1910), 4; Editorial, "Should Writer's Be Good?" (January 14, 1910), 4.

"significant fact and impressive judgment," but he feared controversy. Especially did he hit "the wall of his enclosed mind" when dealing with a literature which portrayed "the animal in man." Convention thus made even the able incapable of understanding "our notable contemporaries." Most critics, less able than Phelps, were snared in the same trap.⁷¹

Criticism could not take refuge in fads. Popular writers were themselves too much with the world.⁷² Hackett desired for writers neither isolation nor popularity, but rather a brave "independence" that accepted the supreme "value of militancy in literature and education." He insisted that the "intellect" had to "fight for an idea." Literature was an intellectual's weapon. Although occasionally novelists were active "critic/s/ of life," most fiction displayed no "critical sense,"⁷³ and few Americans believed, as Hackett had recently overheard a Harvard student exclaim, that there was "'philosophy in everything.'" Critical literature had to be free, censored only by its

⁷¹Francis Hackett, "Views of Contemporary Novelists," a review of William Lyon Phelps' Essays on Modern Novelists (January 21, 1910), 1; Second editorial, "Sudermann's Frankness" (February 11, 1910), 4.

⁷²Editorial, "The Fad for Meredith" (May 20, 1910), 4; Editorial, "The Audience" (September 16, 1910), 4.

⁷³Editorial, "Lions and Libraries" (September 30, 1910), 4; Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 7, 1910), 1.

"self-regulating" creator. It was "individual responsibility" that advanced "the prospect of literature."⁷⁴

There was, however, an urgent pull on all independent critics to conform to convention. The eminently respectable London Athenaeum demonstrated "the dangers of adopting conventional standards" when it attacked what it considered Arnold Bennett's Zolaesque, stenographic involvement with the commonplace. The Athenaeum had thereby expressed a "view...responsible for much stupidity and injustice."⁷⁵ Most newspaper book-critics accepted things as they were, challenging only what was popularly challenged, but the more the critic learned to perceive, the less he required the "babble of caterers and demagogues," and,

⁷⁴ Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 14, 1910), 1; Editorial, "Who is to Judge" (February 25, 1910), 4. The stultification of imagination and real expression of experience wrought by the mutual partnership of commercialism and conventionalism on what should instead be free, meaningful and honest art was perhaps most evident at Christmas when even the pages of the FLR, in issues vastly expanded, wasted much effort on junk. Perhaps man required the "deliberate celebration of Christmas" but no one needed the "million barnacles of convention" that the festival now dragged with it, especially the "made-to-order presents...of a literary kind." Hackett hated the commercially successful, conventionally sanctioned gift-books as fully as he did "magazines full of 'appropriate' sentiment." His emotion was hate, not passive rejection. He hated the gift-books because they were essentially insincere in their creation, were indeed products of convention, required care "without returning pleasure" and satisfied "no permanent emotion." Editorial, "The Problem" (December 16, 1910), 4. The essential relation between commercialism and convention was not always so evident, nor their threat to genuine literary expression so readily manifest.

⁷⁵ Editorial, "Clayhanger" (November 11, 1910), 4.

instead, communicated "to the public his own discovery, the discovery of all critics who have ceased to suit standards to temporary popular judgment, the discovery of Mahomet, that the way to reach the mountain is to go to it." But most American criticism, inferior because it rested on the "demagogic theory that if the majority of the people want the mountain the mountain can be promised to them," left the nation dangerously "unaware that the one thing more disgusting than unnecessary incontinence of thought and deed is unnecessary continence." The more critics wrote about the "delight and wisdom" that they discovered, the closer they would come to guiding the people who, granted their faults, increasingly wanted superior wisdom and delight.⁷⁶

Criticism which judged in accordance with the "consensus of expert opinion" was as useless as that which accepted the popular consensus. Expert consensus criticism, "scrupulously pedagogic," was "wrong in method and therefore unsatisfactory in result." It led to conventional expressions which perpetuated the "established lies and frauds." A consensus critic was merely a passive "receptical for things preferred conventionally." But America had "to lift criticism out of its caution and anxious regard for the sameness...and lead it to exhibit real likes and dislikes, pungent and vital feelings." Great and democratic artists, because of their virtues, were neglected by both popular

⁷⁶Editorial, "American Criticism" (January 20, 1911)
4.

opinion and the established critics. Perhaps Hackett's last FLR editorial comment was his demand that the critic act only from "his own conviction. If that conviction is false, let him act upon it, and discover."⁷⁷

The very hope of the "New Spirit" was its freedom from Victorian restraint and its lack of respect for what was customary.⁷⁸ Critic and writer were limited not only by convention, temporary respectability, but also by tradition, an ever present barrier to honesty, originality,

⁷⁷Editorial, "A Question of Taste" (January 27, 1911), 4; Editorial, "Provincialism" (February 24, 1911), 4; Editorial, "The Maligned Modernist" (June 30, 1911), 4; Editorial, "Charmed Circles" (July 21, 1911), 2.

⁷⁸Editorial, "Reticence in Fiction" (March 19, 1909), 4. Phelps, fettered by convention, was unable to identify with lost causes or minorities in the right. Francis Hackett, "Views of Contemporary Novelists," a review of William Lyon Phelps' Essays on Modern Novelists (January 21, 1910), 1. The Outlook and "American respectability" tried to "pervert or veil unpleasant truth." Editorial, "Sudermann's Frankness" (February 11, 1910), 4. Repressing his personal abandonment, however, led often to artistic paralysis in the writer, and this was a ridiculously dear price for respectability. Editorial, "The Marriage Shackle" (April 15, 1910), 4. The grand cultural purpose of President Eliot's Harvard Classics suffered precisely because the proportion of their selection was "conventional and orthodox." Editorial, "The Harvard Classics" (April 22, 1910), 4. Journalists, as well as novelists, suffered "more from multitudes than from solitude." Editorial, "The Audience" (September 16, 1910), 4. Convention itself, of course, was unsure, changing with the seasons. Editorial, "Pessimism" (October 28, 1910), 4. Hackett's own neighbor, Edwin L. Schuman, literary editor of the Chicago Record Herald was, according to the FLR, "popularly American in shunning the disagreeable rather than accounting for it," and consequently misrepresented "realistic literature." Unsigned review of Edwin L. Schuman's How to Judge a Book (October 28, 1910), 5.

and the expression of the present culture. Ellen Glasgow's Romance of a Plain Man, a title that probably whetted his appetite, had dismayed Hackett by holding to the "ancient coincidences and still more ancient sentimentalisms of yesteryear." Hackett attacked the eminent Henry Holt's criticism of contemporary literature compared to the literature of fifty years before. It was "useless to compare fiction today with the fiction of Dickens and Thackeray" for this had "nothing to do with literary criticism." One could not, Hackett maintained, "dispraise the world of 1910 in comparison with the world of 1860." Homage before tradition did not "guarantee" the creation or appreciation of an "imaginative literature." While "life" changed, American writers were fettered by the past. As much as Hackett admired Shakespeare, a great plagiarizer of life who "shaped rather than obeyed tradition," still the FLR maintained that "to some of us, ingrossed in the larger social and economic problems of today," Shakespeare required "interpretation."⁷⁹ Mere self-liberation and present-mindedness, however, were not enough.

⁷⁹Francis Hackett, "Amateur Romance," a review of Ellen Glasgow's Romance of a Plain Man (May 14, 1909), 1; Editorial, "The Superstitious Age" (April 29, 1910), 4; Editorial, "Sterile Culture" (July 22, 1910), 4; Editorial, "To the Rescue" (April 9, 1909), 4. Someone in the FLR, perhaps Hackett, realized that the early nineteenth century had anticipated moderns in many ways. The FLR writer also recognized that involved in such questions of change was the question of how if at all superficial and social fashions related to the spirit of the times. Unsigned review of Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century (January 7, 1910), 1. While he suspected tradition as a criteria,

On the Way to the Mountain: Authority from Within

The first step on the way to the mountain was revolt from popular convention and critical formulas. Only free men could free American cultural expression. Independence was but the initial step. The critic had to be both authoritative and a bridge between the people and art, which seemed in practice impossible in America. Nevertheless, attitudes which isolated writer and critic from the daily experience of man, as well as those which prevented him from probing beneath the myths and conventions of the superficial articulations of those experiences, were culturally dangerous. The critic had to avoid the easy but useless habit "of belittling the public" and recognize the "mutual" relationship between critic and reader, his share of the public. Although a critic could not "at the same moment be olympian and popular unless he possess a genius," limited as he was by his own and the public's shortcomings, he was yet an important "agent of the people."⁸⁰ The critic had to avoid most critic's standards which were "pre-conceived and unattainable" and the impressionist critic's

Hackett did not, as we know, go so far as to fail to appreciate such as Jane Austin as a legitimate and perceptive voice from the past. It was not the past as such that Hackett declared war upon but rather the imposition of the ways of the past on the possibilities of the present. Consequently, Hackett reminded Henry Holt that Milton had hated the world of 1637 but Wordsworth, deaf to Keats, Shelley, Byron, and Blake, had cried for Milton.

⁸⁰ Editorial, "The Publishers" (April 30, 1909), 4.

test by only personal tastes and myopia regarding social and pragmatic considerations. Neither preconceived evangelism nor "rhapsody" constituted criticism,⁸¹ and, rejecting the fallacious rigid dichotomy, Francis Hackett had to function somewhere between the authority of the first and the non-communicative anarchy of the latter. Recognizing all of this was precisely what made Hackett groundbreaker for the Liberation. The mountain, truth as demonstrated by experience, did not move, and only inner-directed men could accept its immobility and scale its heights.

William Lyon Phelps, "unusual" among professors in discovering literature's value in its "relation to common life," had done "much to make the test of common life the test of literature," but Hackett recognized that this had long been the principle of the best critics. Using the "common life" as a litmus for literature made Phelps superior to Hamilton Wright Mabie, but did not make him the equal of such critics as William Butler Yeats, Henry James, Arthur Symons or G. K. Chesterton.⁸² Sincerity and the "common life" as criterion did not make a great critic; the great critic would accept experience as flux, the unconventional in art, and the "animal in man." Criticism

⁸¹Francis Hackett, "The Quest for Beauty," a review of Arthur Symons' Plays, Acting and Music: A Book of Theory (June 4, 1909), 1.

⁸²Francis Hackett, "Views of Contemporary Novelists," a review of William Lyon Phelps' Essays on Modern Novelists (January 21, 1910), 1.

required "adventure of the soul," and a criticism affected by any agency outside literature or the critic's personal view of its relation to life prohibited adventure.⁸³ Hackett had thus rejected critics who ignored "the common vicissitudes of American life" and those who provided "absolute not relative criticism."⁸⁴ The critic had to be done with the old rules.

Doing without the old rules did not mean that all things were equal. The critic had to be discriminate and assert his preferences. He had to praise beauty and decry ugliness. He could not simply "understand" the artist, but must judge him and his "distinctions must be rational distinctions."⁸⁵ The critic had to witness and decide, but not on the basis of mere whimsical taste. Yes, said Hackett, his "certitudes of yesterday" had been "replaced by other certitudes" that would also be altered. Some things he had condemned he now praised, but this did not make him "forgive everything." Although the critic had to offer relative rather than absolute criticism, he had to make rational distinctions on the basis of his critical perceptions. Hackett's persuasion was "not live and let live." That was a generous "motto" but ultimately "a gospel of complacent evasion and mediocracy." While sin was relative,

⁸³Editorial, "The Dial--1880-1910" (April 22, 1910), 4.

⁸⁴Editorial, "Sterile Culture" (July 22, 1910), 4.

⁸⁵Editorial, "Taste" (June 10, 1910), 4.

"justice" had to be done and judgment made or the world would not endure. In criticism a "rough-and-ready justice" had to be "measured out, and the case to be tried no matter what charity one practices."

While most facts in any situation were not in evidence, while the world was changing experience, "truth, that result which is not the special care of lazy writers or their equally lazy readers," had to be served. There was a point "where indulgence" no longer applied and "larger human sympathies /,/ sometimes called intellectual sympathies," were required. "Everyman" had to "fix that point somewhere." While Hackett would not require "too much of human nature," he asserted that whiskey called "Peruna" was still whiskey and "twaddle" unchanged when called "Romance." Criticism had to reject absolutist deductions from abstract, formalistic premises and choose a humane but cautious relativism. Many intellectuals were "sadly deficient in human sympathies" and thus "inefficient" in appealing to the normal men they ultimately desired to convince and serve. "In every profession," the Jamesian Hackett pointed out, there was the peril that the "professional" would be "carried away by his desire for perfection, and...come to believe that men were made for his system, not that his system was made for men." Asking more of human nature than it had was "not a good or intelligent proceeding" for moralist, statesman, or reviewer. Nevertheless, the good was not the same as the bad. Absolute relativism could justify anything.

But Hackett knew that by saying that good and bad were relative he was not at all stating that they were interchangeable. The critic had to judge but he could not be "dogmatic."⁸⁶

Whatever the dangers inherent in even a cautious and qualified relativism, Hackett's stand was especially in that day justifiable and sane. Many critics in American daily newspapers, as he said, evaded earnest criticism and chose or rejected on borrowed standards. This behavior violated "that necessarily individual art, the art of aesthetic criticism." Hackett denied that the public was "as big an ass" as it appeared when it bought vast quantities of a very bad best seller; its crime was, however, not "stupidity but...ignorance," and Hackett asserted that the "only reason for writing true criticism, criticism with a standard" was that he believed "in the ultimate appeal of right reason, imagination and feeling." The critic had to be independent but only the insane assumed that he alone had "seen the light." The sane critic experienced "the common lot," tested and revised his feelings and his imagination, and the more he learned to perceive,

⁸⁶ Editorial, "Pessimism" (October 28, 1910), 4; Editorial, "The Problem" (December 16, 1910), 4. While Hackett's arguments were subject to much the same weaknesses and dangers suffered by other pragmatist-realist-relativists, he, and perhaps many of them, were not quite the blind ninny's that Goldman perhaps unintentionally implied but that many post-World War II writers have quite unabashedly asserted. See Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny (Vintage edition, New York: Vintage, 1956), 135-136.

the less he required "the babble of caterers and demagogues," but was happy to demonstrate his "true opinions for their assimilative possibility." He believed "in his public's discrimination" and trusted its good qualities more than other critics. He believed in it because he was "a member of it, communicating to the public his own discovery...."⁸⁷ To the formalist Hackett offered relativism, to the "popular" critic standards tentative but capable of verification by honest experience, penetrating, and sincere enough for necessary discrimination.

Authority came only from within. Truth had nothing "to do with respectability." Hackett did "not declare for unbridled personal opinion" nor confuse "authority from within" with "heinous assertion of exaggerated ego." His authority was "just as serious and responsible as the authority from without," he insisted, because it demonstrated "active taste" and made "for creative criticism, while authority from without" was "scholastic" and could "only prescribe taste." The genteel, consensus standard of the Dial perpetuated what was falsely accepted with "no ardent effort to ratify or condemn;" "assurance" pretended

⁸⁷ Editorial, "American Criticism" (January 20, 1911), 4. While not "mysterious," book-reviewing was "beyond question exacting." Editorial, "To A Book Reviewer" (June 2, 1911), 4.

to authority.⁸⁸ Hackett believed that criticism was itself an act of creation, a judge-made decision, rather than discovery through empirical deduction from absolutist first-truths of literary fixity.

The appeal and the meaning of literature were relative to each person. In "literature as in life, the wise thing," Hackett advised, was "to hold fast to what is pleasant and profitable, and let the rest go hang." Each reader basically had to acquire "his own literary convictions in his own way, and develop them for himself."⁸⁹ The critic could not "prejudge"; but merely accept the "creator as one more creditable witness to the truth, one more Discoverer."⁹⁰ The critic had to know his own limitations, that he was indeed limited by self and non-self, but then he had to communicate his discriminations.⁹¹ Of course discontented critics were called impractical "'impossibilists,'" silly to tell the public it did not want what it did want. While literature was relative to experience in evolving cultures, most people in a particular society did

⁸⁸In contrast Hackett insisted that art "was selection and the pursuit of knowledge...an art." Editorial, "Read Twice" (April 14, 1911), 4.

⁸⁹Editorial, "Persecuting the Youth" (May 26, 1911), 4. Literature ultimately existed "for its contribution to one's own honest experience." Prescriptions from formula were dangerous, and "literary evangelism...just as bad as superficial religious evangelism."

⁹⁰Editorial, "Critic and Creator" (June 23, 1911), 4.

⁹¹Editorial, "Taste" (June 10, 1910), 4.

not want or even understand the necessity of critical literature. A democrat who believed that the truth as he discovered it had possibility of assimilation, Hackett's pragmatism did not hold that the desirable was what the majority wanted. Hackett found his own standards, earnestly built his bridge to society, and gravely realized that he could not serve both literature and popular convention, discovered like Mahomet "that the way to reach the mountain is to go to it."⁹² The mountain could not be moved.

By asserting that some things were more true and serious in art than others, he did not assert that the techniques of art were its crucial values. That was to some degree a belief he discovered among his cultural enemies, men who laid down rules about the truth, the methods and topics of art, isolated, prescribed, and devitalized art. Consequently Hackett praised Ferruccio Busoni's Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music because, while Busoni spoke of style (art), feeling and the requisite controlling intelligence, he asserted that music was not a technician's game but, said Hackett, an "expression of the human spirit." Nor was the music critic a technician but rather a man who had to "elicit in every human soul what he has found and valued in his own." All "great art," Hackett added, and "all great criticism" did this. The critic who thought "only of his own conviction" would discover its truth or

⁹²Editorial, "American Criticism" (January 20, 1911), 4.

falsity as he acted upon it.⁹³ Even music, then, so very abstract when compared to words which inevitably carried social content, required more than technical production and appreciation.

Hackett did believe that the minute art acquired a purpose other than art it ceased to be art. The novel was a shaper of ideas not action. Propaganda, however agreeable, was not literature. Hackett preferred revelation to propaganda in fiction, the universal to the immediate, the fundamental to the popular. A cultural nationalist, he did

⁹³Editorial, "Charmed Circles" (July 21, 1911), 2. Hackett did believe that the artist had to take his art seriously, that a novel needed self-criticism. Indeed, the "passion for artistic perfection is as compensatory as it is admirable." Hackett, "Amateur Romance," a review of Ellen Glasgow's Romance of a Plain Man (May 14, 1909), 4. Hackett offered no practical solution to the economically poor artist who was truly devoted to his art. Hackett rejected Nicholas Worth's The Southern because the novel did not possess artistic sincerity. Worth had only "a very slight idea of how to write fiction." Francis Hackett, "Southern Issues," a review of Nicholas Worth's The Southern (September 24, 1909), 1. It is very informative to compare Hackett's view with the lecture by Joel Elias Spingarn, "The New Criticism" (March 9, 1910), published by Columbia in 1911, reprinted in Creative Criticism (Holt, 1917) and in Criticism in America: Its Function and Status (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1924). Compare, for example, Spingarn on style with Hackett's editorial, "Should Writers be Good?" (January 14, 1910), 2. Spingarn, of course, had long since "enrolled" himself under Benedetto Croce's "banner," believed that all expression was art and the old rules did not apply, nor classifications, nor theories of style, nor moral judgment.

not desire or call for a service culture.⁹⁴ Hackett believed that serious novels were apt to become tracts instead of true art. Art should particularize rather than generalize. Its particular cases should be so written as to be grasped "intuitively, understanding directly with our senses and primary ideas, instead of indirectly through our reason." Art concerned not logic but "rather the faculties of perception and feeling."⁹⁵

Nevertheless, the serious novel, Hackett insisted, "appealing to our reason and providing a general social outlook," still deserved the "most serious consideration." It was not "for its value as a work of art alone that a novel has to be considered." A novel with the "fine sociological insight and broad sociological interest" of Robert Herrick's A Life for A Life had vital claims, therefore, on all who were not frivolous. It might have "defects as a work of art," but there was a "place in the world for the treatise and the analytic study."⁹⁶ Art, too, existed for the people even though they did not yet know its utility. Novels should be concerned with "emotion and the preciousness of emotion," and the novelist should reveal "each of his character's personal, vital consciousness of life, his

⁹⁴Francis Hackett, "A Dramatist's Ideals," a review of Percy MacKaye's Playhouse and the Play (May 28, 1909), 1.

⁹⁵Editorial, "Novel or Tract" (July 1, 1910), 4.

⁹⁶Ibid.

real desires, his real fears, his doubts and wonder," regardless of the fictional method used. The writer who was most direct in treating life was most original.⁹⁷ Even art could not profitably be truly separated from substance. Significantly, Hackett used William James to defend Arnold Bennett's novelistic attention to the commonplace, the necessity, according to James, of using the commonplace as a corrective of our "abstract conceptions." Hackett defended Bennett's Clayhanger on the Jamesian grounds that it had "kept the proportion of life by compelling us to reckon with the obvious."⁹⁸

As a journalistic propagandist in literary and social criticism of William James' Pragmatism, Francis Hackett was an important part of the revolt against formalism. To William James, as Hackett himself tells us, Hackett added Jane Addams' humanitarian concern.⁹⁹ By the end of

⁹⁷Americans needed culture, Hackett insisted, culture defined by Norman Hapgood as "'the ability to realize ideal values.'" Editorial, "Provincialism" (February 24, 1911), 4; Editorial, "The Provincial American" (April 21, 1911), 4; Editorial, "Persecuting the Youth" (May 26, 1911), 4; Editorial, "Straight from Life" (July 7, 1911), 2; Editorial, "Sentimentalists" (July 14, 1911), 2.

⁹⁸Editorial, "Clayhanger" (November 11, 1909), 4. It was crucial that fit expression for all that was in man be discovered. Editorial, "Should Writers be Good?" (January 14, 1910), 2.

⁹⁹The influence of John Dewey does not appear to have been strong on Hackett at this time. He was familiar with what Dewey, as well as Bertrand Russell, said about William James. Hackett's critical tenets, however, were probably in keeping with the Dewey philosophy. According to George

1909 it was apparent that the critical watchwords of Hackett and Dell in the FLR were "sincerity" and "integrity," but most especially "experience," "life," and

Geiger, John Dewey in Perspective: A Reassessment (McGraw Hill, ed., New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), 3-39, "Ordinarily, discussion of Dewey's 'pragmatism' is limited to its problem-solving, instrumentalist aspects; those of thinking, knowing, scientific method, educational reform, and the like. But, while these are crucial, they are only 'hand-maidens.' What they serve is 'art,' the memorializing of what life might become." This purpose of Dewey, Geiger held, demonstrated that his was not the slanderously described "typically American philosophy, and therefore vulgar and short-sighted."

Be that as it may, in 1934, long after the FLR began and even longer after Dewey left Chicago, Dewey published Art as Experience. Dewey wanted to restore that unity "between the refined and intensified forms of experience that are works of art and the everyday events, doings, sufferings that are universally recognized to constitute experience." He regretted the compartmentalizing of modern life by which art, as Santayana held, was for holidays, and experience for the dreary life.

In studying the pattern of the "Revolt Against Formalism," with no mention, by the way, of a literary critic, Morton White examined through Dewey, Veblen, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Charles A. Beard and James Harvey Robinson an "intellectual pattern composed of 'pragmatism, institutionalism, behaviorism, legal realism, economic determinism, [and] the 'new history.'" While Hackett would not agree with all of that, he could have said, as White does in describing the revolt, that "logic, abstraction, deduction, mathematics and mechanics were inadequate to social research and incapable of containing the rich, moving, living current of social life." All of the revolvers against formalism, said White, were "under the spell of history and culture." They all sought to separate their disciplines from moralists. Hackett, who had hated deduction from absolutes since he first encountered Euclid and intellectual Catholicism, entered the philosophic revolt through James. There are other conjunctions between Hackett's reviews and White's discussion. See Morton White, Social Thought in America: The Revolt Against Formalism (Beacon edition, Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), especially Chapter II. Hackett used, with credit to James but not to the particular source, at least six quotations for intellectual support from the first two of James' famed Pragmatism lectures to bolster his FLR reviews and editorials. (Continued on next page.)

"revelation." Hackett used these words, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter, to describe both the writer's artistic presentation and a work's social or philosophic substance. Any watchwords, he realized, were corrupted or not depending on their critical context, but he also knew that his words had come out of the struggle by humanists against stale abstractions and conventions.¹⁰⁰

Even in art it was the relation of the novel's character to his life that was important, not the novelist's technical command of "point of view" in narration. Hackett most admired even Henry James for his revelation, not his masterful command of narration. Consequently, when Van Wyck Brooks took the academic critics, the "New Criticism"

According to Henry May, The End of American Innocence, viii-ix, the beginnings of the twentieth-century cultural revolt, manifest sometime after 1907 and before 1917, were evident in Sandburg, Pound, Anderson, Dewey, and Veblen. The beginnings, as this chapter suggests, were evident in literature, long before Sandburg and Anderson published, with the FLR in 1909.

When Hackett referred to "philosophy" being present in everything, including modern life and literature, he meant by that term what James had meant in Pragmatism (1907), man's way of seeing and feeling the world.

¹⁰⁰ Editorial, "Truth to Nature" (September 10, 1909), 4. Hackett was here merely agreeing with Laurence Binyon's statement in the London Saturday Review. It is very strange that no one has connected Hackett's journalism and criticism with the writings of Jane Addams, William James, and certainly later, with Thorstein Veblen. In defending Wells and Bennett, Hackett had openly relied on Jane Addams and William James. He made no secret that these two Americans early had dominant influence over him.

of the John Crowe Ransoms and Allan Tate, to task in 1953¹⁰¹ he but echoed Hackett's FLR essays, and, significantly, quoted a later Hackett statement on precisely this point; Hackett wanted novels that interested the reader as well as the craftsman, novels peopled with people. In the continuing flux of life, experience had to be the well-spring of literature or literature would become a game, abstracted from the national culture, a game played by technicians, elitists, escaptists and formalists. Experience could be neither fixed nor denied. Expression was an instrument for the human understanding of life; great art was ultimately superior statement of experience by genius. The life of literature had not been logic but experience.

¹⁰¹Van Wyck Brooks, The Writer in America (New York: Dutton, 1953), Chapter I, "On Certain Critics," 1-31.

CHAPTER V

WRITERS AND "REALITY"

"I should blush to uncover the nakedness of my country if it were not that her wants must be generally known and felt before they will be supplied."

Francis Calley Gray, "An Address
Pronounced before the Society
of Phi Beta Kappa" (1816)

Francis Hackett, cultural nationalist, wanted an American literature that would probe the realities of American life, but the novelists he praised from 1909 to 1911 were predominantly European. On his first trip to New York for the FLR Hackett found a dozen new novels worth reviewing, but they were written by H. G. Wells, William DeMorgan, G. K. Chesterton, Rudyard Kipling, W. W. Jacobs, and Stephen Reynolds. American novelists would make money, Hackett decided, but Europeans wrote the artistically successful novels.¹ He described this modernist literature, prone to urban images, as "the Cockney School." Some of the contemporary writers he esteemed did have "vivid associations elsewhere" but even Henry James, Joseph Conrad, and

¹Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 1, 1909), 1. Hackett admired Frank Harris' novel The Bomb and eagerly awaited his study of Shakespeare. Hackett decided at year's end that the best novels had been written by Arnold Bennett, Wells, Galsworthy, and DeMorgan. Bennett lacked Wells' ideas but excelled him in common sense and had written the novel of 1909. Editorial, "The Vintage of 1909" (December 31, 1909), 4.

John Galsworthy had "adopted London," and Wells, Chesterton, Shaw and Arnold Bennett stayed near London and used London, urban, journalistic images.²

London produced or attracted many of the writers Hackett admired. Deciding unhappily in October, 1910, that the new American literature uncritically entertained, Hackett eagerly awaited Wells' The New Machiavelli and Arnold Bennett's Clayhanger. Very much influenced by British writers, Hackett in turn transmitted their Fabian socialism, their social and economic criticism and their psychological suggestions to his American public.³

Hackett, in January, 1911, admitted that some FLR readers were displeased by the supplement's criticism of the "good, homely American product," while it praised

² Hackett was somewhat troubled by the literary trend toward the circumscribed, "banal metaphors of the town." Editorial, "The Cockney School" (February 18, 1910), 4. The "subconscious mind of urban authors," Hackett suggested, was "certain to be effected by the city's ugliness and vulgarity."

³ Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 7, 1910), 1. The admiration was returned by Galsworthy, Bennett and Harris. Advertisement (December 23, 1910), 8. Bennett wrote Hackett that Hackett's review of The Old Wives Tale had more than any other pleased him. Francis Hackett, "Arnold Bennett," The Saturday Review of Literature, VII (May 2, 1931), 789-790. William Dean Howells and Hackett had much to do with Bennett's success in America. James Hepburn, ed. Letters of Arnold Bennett (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 126, n. 90. Bennett also indicated that the two American reviews of Clayhanger which he most eagerly awaited and with which he was most pleased were those by the Boston Evening Transcript and the Chicago Evening Post. Arnold Bennett, The Journals of Arnold Bennett (New York: The Literary Guild, 1933), 400.

For a discussion of the influence of British writers at the turn of the century on American progressives, see

Galsworthy, Chesterton, Bennett, or Wells. Nevertheless, his survey in the spring of 1911 described American literary products as second-rate, and he dismally concluded that America did not produce "fiction of the first class." In 1911, as usual, Hackett decided that Europe and especially England would "divert" America. Wells was at work on a new novel; Bennett's Denry the Audacious and Galsworthy's The Patrician had appeared.⁴ What particular virtues did English and European art have? Why were contemporary American writers less successful artistically?

The English and European great writers excelled contemporary American writers primarily in the psychological and artistic probing of reality. But what was the "reality" Hackett desired? Richard Hofstadter, analyzing the Progressive mind, held that:

The common preoccupation of the Progressive political critics, the muckrakers, and the early

Arthur Mann, "British Social Thought and American Reformers of the Progressive Era," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLII (March, 1956), 672-692.

⁴Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Spring Books" (March 17, 1911), 1. Among the many who had been creator as well as critic listed by Hackett, there were only four Americans: Henry James, William Dean Howells, Edgar Allan Poe, and Walter Whitman. Editorial, "Critic and Creator" (June 23, 1911), 4. The "modernists" defended in the previous chapter against attack from Paul Elmer More's New York Nation did not include Americans. Hackett and Dell both later confessed to having been greatly influenced by the European modernists. See Hackett, I Chose Denmark, 100, and Floyd Dell's Intellectual Vagabondage (New York: George H. Doran, 1926), 190ff.

Readers of Hackett's reviews may feel that this chapter slights the sociological attention his essays gave to each novel, but I have made a conscious attempt not to poach on the subject of the next chapter.

realistic and naturalistic novelists was the search for 'reality.' But what, to them, was reality. At bottom, I think, it had three characteristics: It was rough and sordid; it was hidden, neglected, and, so to speak, off-stage; and it was essentially a stream of external and material events, of which psychic events were a kind of pale reflex. Reality was the bribe, the rebate, the bought franchise, the sale of adulterated food. It was what one found in The Jungle, The Octopus, Wealth Against Commonwealth, or The Shame of the Cities. The imagination of the era was more fundamentally conditioned by reporters and literary journalists than we usually recognize, and its characteristic goal was the 'inside story.'⁵

While this description may or may not describe Hackett's view of social and political reality (the topic to be examined in the following chapter), it does not adequately describe his view of philosophic or literary reality, nor that of Jane Addams and other, similar, progressives. It errs especially, perhaps, in its assumption that all reporters and literary journalists were muckrakers and materialistic determinists.

The Cookney School

It is evident, from the preceding chapter and from this examination of Hackett's reaction of certain English, European, and American writers, that the "reality" Hackett wanted writers to reveal was a (non-muckrake) social realism not content with "a stream of external and material events," and an intuitive understanding of the "psychic" realities

⁵Richard Hofstadter, "Beard and the Constitution: The History of an Idea," American Quarterly, XI (Fall, 1950), 195-213, p. 208.

which he did not at all consider a "pale reflex" of that naturalistic stream. American writers, he believed, too often succeeded only in a surface, social reality and failed, as did many English writers, of course, to produce art and an intuitive or psychological perception of man. Reality in fiction, Hackett believed, was fundamentally in characterization rather than in mere literal description. Real characters in a novel, he insisted, had with man an inner life; they were not type, nor idea, nor puppets in a materially or otherwise predetermined world. They, like reality, were not static, but changed and evolved. A real literature had to be drawn from experience, but experience was as internal as it was external, as subconscious and emotional as it was conscious and rational. After all, William James had discerned another stream, the "stream of consciousness," and Sigmund Freud had discovered the subconscious struggle with experience.

Hackett's first FLR page praised John Galsworthy's Fraternity. Galsworthy, Hackett asserted in review after review, was among the best young English novelists; he accepted nothing, was "painfully observant" rather than censorious, and earnestly commented on the ruling classes without "sermonizing." Galsworthy was only as critical as was necessary in a literature which probed the "riddles of social conduct." Fraternity examined both the material and the "psychic" struggles of London's economic and social classes. England's "modernist generation," Hackett added,

struggled with the "same problems" as the "corresponding generation in America." Galsworthy's play Justice spoke for "'broken humanity;'" it attacked an oppressive institution. The major English novelists, including Galsworthy, were now almost universally "expressing their clear socialist sympathy." In a letter to Galsworthy, however, Hackett thanked the Lord that some English writers were now accepting their "imaginations" as their preeminent gifts.⁶

Galsworthy's novel The Patrician excited Hackett's "imagination" and challenged the reader's "social and political principles." His main character, an anti-proletarian patrician, was thankfully revealed rather than satirized or condemned. In probing the character's "soul," Galsworthy had discussed "insoluble situations" absent in literature but real in life. He ably established character relations, evolved "psychological incident," conveyed

⁶Francis Hackett, "Fraternity," a review of John Galsworthy's Fraternity (March 5, 1909), 1; Francis Hackett, "Mr. Galsworthy's Plays," a review of John Galsworthy's Plays: The Silver Box, Joy, Strife (July 9, 1909), 1; Francis Hackett, "Our Rules of Thumb," a review of John Galsworthy's Justice (October 28, 1910), 1. Unlike Joel Spingarn, Hackett did not presume that in his critical essays he judged only the work itself and the writer's intentions. Francis Hackett to John Galsworthy, [c. March 5, 1909], H. V. Marrot, The Life and Letters of John Galsworthy (New York: Scribners, 1936), 237-238. Justice in England played a role, in prison reform, somewhat akin to that played by Sinclair's The Jungle in meat packing in the United States. See Editorial, "Fiction and Reform" (August 12, 1910), 4, for the play's effect on the British politician Winston Churchill. Galsworthy was more artist and less muckraker than Dickens, Charles Reade, or Upton Sinclair, but Hackett was surely pleased with such a direct reminder of the usually less direct effect literature had on life.

passion, and created dramatic spontaneity. His sociological penetration of England was sensitive and balanced, but sometimes his characters failed to evolve, and he was occasionally content with surface "versimilitude." Galsworthy's method in The Patrician, "far from realistic," had severely dropped the "dramatic mode" and permitted Galsworthy "much expression of opinion." Unlike Wells, Galsworthy did not abruptly intrude as "author among his company of players," nor break the "fiction" with irrelevant ideas, but he did cast his "characters as types." He believed in "types of humanity" and readily represented individuals as ideas, a practice unrealistic and ineffective. As Galsworthy grew more "intellectual" and hence "more interested in Type," his novels lost effect. The Patrician and Fraternity were frigid. Great novels did not "spike down the drawbridge" but, instead, gave their readers "the run of the island, to understand all, to forgive all." Instead, Galsworthy held his characters distant even from himself, and Hackett feared that he would grant "imagination license" and cease to regard people as they were. Novelists primarily interested in the "spirit, and the philosophy of mankind," Hackett observed, examined the plant less and wrote "more and more about the sky above and the tangled roots beneath." George Meredith's "imagination" had been a "dangerous mistress,"

but, unlike Galsworthy, who lacked the "corrective of comedy," Meredith had laughed.⁷

The late George Meredith, a "most engaging psychologist," although possessed of a mind of "startling and delightful quality," had never mastered the art of plotting and telling tales. Although life and psychologists did without them, good novels had good plots. Hackett remained, however, humble before his own criteria. Meredith's interrupted, weak plots, violating Hackett's rule, came from Meredith's intellectual excitement and his "passion for vital comment on life." He wrote for the introspective, and, while "too great a genius to become a type," had been deficient in the "commonplace." He had understood "life and art deeply;" there had been hordes of people inside him, and he had avoided the "literal" while revealing life in "one lightening phrase." But Meredith, although a "democrat," had not opened "his spiritual house and let the crowds trample through him" as had Balzac and Tolstoy. Inclusive in philosophy and sympathy, Meredith had been "exclusive in his wit and...taste." He had not surveyed the "familiar affairs of men, the common drudgeries as well as the high emotions," but had written of "superior" people of

⁷Francis Hackett, "The Soul of a Patrician," a review of John Galsworthy's The Patrician (March 31, 1911), 1. Hackett criticized the novel's excessive references to "olfactory experiences," its neat symbolism pulled in place by the "long arm of coincidence," its excessively "Sudermanic" meteorological symbols and "strained" phrases. But in his love of country life, and other ways, Galsworthy promised to be a worthy successor to George Meredith.

quick mind and spirit and "rarified" motive. Even Hackett found this difficult as daily fare and longed for "rye bread and beer and dull companions," for the earth beneath his feet "after sowing," and for relaxation and dissipation. Meredith approved to surprising degree "the sensual side of man" and betrayed no "fear of life," no holding of himself "superior" to the natural. Although he lacked Tolstoy's directness and simplicity, Meredith, a "challenging companion" replete with "provocative questions," applied to life.⁸

⁸Francis Hackett, "Meredith's Fiction," a review of George Meredith's Celt and Saxon (September 9, 1910), 1. Meredith misunderstood the Irish nationalist but understood the Irish soul; the "patriotic Irish" would therefore be wrong to reject his novel on "political grounds."

E. Aubert Mooney, Jr., in his "Introduction" to The Egoist: A Comedy in Narrative by George Meredith (Modern Library ed., New York: Random House, 1951), xiv, discusses Meredith's nineteenth-century attack on the merely material interpretation of evolution and Meredith's contention, similar to Lester Frank Ward's, that man's brain had become a part of the Darwinian struggle. Meredith himself said in The Egoist that "the realistic method of a conscientious transcription of all the visible, and a repetition of all the audible, is mainly accountable for our present branfulness....We drove in a body to Science the other day for an antidote; which was as if tired pedestrians should mount the engine-box of headlong trains; and Science introduced us to our o'er-hoary ancestry....And before day-break our disease was hanging on to us again, with the extension of a tail....We were the same, and animals into the bargain. That is all we got from Science." "Art," Meredith decided, was the "specific [the cure]."

In praising Allen Upward's support of the "idealist" as against the "materialist," Hackett decided that Upward had joined in that "great revolt against orthodoxy and [was] one with those men who like Henrik Ibsen and George Meredith and William James and John Galsworthy believe primarily in private judgment and the revolution in the soul of man." Upward realized that idealists and materialists looked at life differently and that man was not a "right-angled triangle." Francis Hackett, "Let There Be Light,"

Robert Louis Stevenson, on the other hand, a "romancer," had allowed the "literary taint" to make him blind to much of reality. His "literary preoccupation" had prevented experience from giving him "the shock, the stab, of life." Situations that would have tortured the Russian realists were to Stevenson "occasion for pretty verb and exquisite adjective." Stevenson had not lived life as a "great and serious passion," had, in fact, regarded life as something "viewed picturesquely." His "agreeable sensualism," his "rare appreciation of certain points in manners and morals," had not prevented his denial of reality, his blindness to his own "native forces of fear and desire." He had fatally regulated all of his acts, feelings, and expressions, and was matched by no man in his self-torture to alter the "style God gave him." He had been constitutionally incapable of "large social sympathies," remained "literary" in appreciation of even "love and danger," and had never commanded "the language of pure and spontaneous concern." Hackett rejected Stevenson's "twittering egotism and uneasy moralizing" but, even so, appreciated him as "a master within his limitations, a singer within a cage."⁹

a review of Allen Upward's The New Word: An Open Letter Addressed to the Swedish Academy of Stockholm on the Meaning of the Word Idealist (April 15, 1910), 1.

⁹Francis Hackett, "Stevenson's Letters," a review of Sidney Colvin, editor, The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson (June 23, 1911), 1. Hackett discovered without surprise that Stevenson was now a "romance becoming less impenetrable and intoxicant with the disillusion of years." Arthur Symonds had been rapped by Hackett for his social

Hackett believed that Samuel Butler and John M. Synge had held dissimilar but far greater grasps on reality than did Stevenson. Butler's The Way of All Flesh surpassed current deserved successes such as Wells' Tono-Bungay, Bennett's The Old Wives Tale, and DeMorgan's It Can Never Happen Again! Butler's novel, less brilliant and suggestive than the first, provided "less background and less social idiom" than the second, and was not as "whimsical" or "ingratiating" as the third, but it was "wiser" than all three, for it exceeded them in "critical intelligence." Butler, unconventional, addressed "lovers of pure and plain principles," his "double edged" blade whittling both "supercilious prigs" and the "uncritical." His novel appealed only to people who had "endured introspection," the writhings of "conscience," and the torments

and unpragmatic myopia. Maurice Hewlett, also a romancer, made a "sensuous and sacramental" cult of woman which became ridiculous in a contemporary setting. His novel, Rest Harrow, indulged in implausible relations, "mystic plety and...foodless transcendentalism." Hewlett's plot was inadequate substitute for a believable environment, a critical intelligence, and demonstration of a "full viewed human being." He did, however, understand the difference between emotion and sensation. Francis Hackett, "A Poet's Novel," a review of Maurice Hewlett's Rest Harrow: A Comedy (September 30, 1910), 1. Thomas Carlyle's love letters revealed another man caged, lacking in human passion, but they contained the ragged pulse of life and the tortured psychology of the introspective rather than the neat one of romancers. Francis Hackett, "Carlyle's Courtship," a review of Alexander Carlyle, editor, The Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh (April 16, 1909), 1. Richard Wagner, whose egotism was detestable, had written into his music the rays of the sun, the rush of the wind, and the "secret rhythms of the veins of man." It was, said Hackett, miraculous. Francis Hackett, "Wagner," a review of Richard Wagner's My Life (July 21, 1911), 1.

of "self-criticism." No Russian fictively admiring Hamlet, Butler exposed the "follies of Hamletry," the "ordinary religious" English parents, and "their mollycoddle son," but he understood that Hamlet, loved him, and revealed "his evolution" because such follies existed only in an essentially valuable soul.

Butler's supra-idealistic character finally discovered the "idiocy" of seeking perfection, but Butler did not indulge the practicalist's mockery of the mollycoddle. Butler knew that expediency did not make falsehood as good as truth. He had, moreover, rejected the "fixed rules of institutions" for the "rules of fun by which human beings are living." He rejected logical but absurd extremes for the "rule of thumb," practical, illogical, and used by "sensible" folk to go through life. There were men who wanted to live honestly and happily who needed Samuel Butler. His novel surpassed Arnold Bennett's because a "successful novel of ideas" was greater than a "successful novel of manners." He told his readers what they knew but never recognized and clarified what they thought they knew. Hackett could not speak for people "born sensible," but The Way of All Flesh was "intimate, diverting, and reassuring" for men who had "worked hard for whatever understanding they have got, God help them." People who knew "how to

be happy" (and many did not or weren't sure) would not be as excited by Butler as was Hackett.¹⁰

John M. Synge, the recently deceased Irish dramatist, a man besieged by Irish patriot and Irish priest, an author of joyous and salty plays, an Irishman who like W. B. Yeats despised the sordid life of the modern bourgeoisie, a man with passion for poetry and a passion for life, Synge provided a rich joy and wild reality much needed on the stage. Romantic, Synge did not satisfy those who wanted a moral-pointing drama critical of life. Synge took "no count of such shocking morality, such prurient idealism," but his plays lacked neither reality nor concern. He had written not of reform but of the emotions of daily living. The Shadow of the Glen was a play, said Hackett, that wore like fine metal, marvelous in its humor, its imagery, its realism. The Playboy of the Western World was a revelation with unexpected action. When read properly Synge's plays, Hackett believed, revealed the deep spirit of man.¹¹

¹⁰Francis Hackett, "Butler's Masterpiece," a review of Samuel Butler's The Way of All Flesh (June 10, 1910), 1. The former Clongowes Wood student also liked Butler's criticism of the "rules of parents and schoolmasters." Butler was highly praised by the British only in 1908, six years after his death, and Synge, in the year of his death, 1909, was still unfamiliar to Americans. Hackett wanted to call both Butler and Synge to general American attention.

¹¹Francis Hackett, "Synge," a review of John M. Synge's Poems and Translations (July 2, 1909), 1. According to Maurice Bourgeois, John Millington Synge and the Irish Theatre (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1965), 257-258, first issued in 1913, Hackett mistakenly said that Synge's

Hackett cherished all writers who revealed man to man regardless of their literary method or artistic philosophy, although he earnestly tried to expose their shortcomings. Writers who were not social or psychological realists were welcome if they had compensatory gifts. The special attributes of Arthur Symons, W. H. Hudson, and Max Beerbohm, as well as Henry James, made them important writers. Max Beerbohm's Yet Again had a "rare gift for alluring and being intimate at the same time." This quality, excellent for a small audience, had a certain power especially in one so accurate a marksman as Max Beerbohm. Essays should not have to surrender to sociology. Some "sentiments" gained by Max's "detachment." He had devoted his entire "genius to perfecting an attitude," and "objection to social observers such as Max and his master Henry James" was generally made by people who misread unfamiliar "preoccupations" and "proportions." Max's "minor manner" had the "exclusions and atrophies" of Henry James, but his "detachment" was less complete than he professed;

plays were unpublished in America. It appears that Yale University Press (which Byrne Hackett had joined in 1909 in, Byrne said in Who's Who in America, some sort of directorial capacity) had arranged with Maunsell to publish the complete Synge. John Quinn had privately printed with Byrne's help several Synge plays in limited edition. Yale University Press could not tell me exactly what position Byrne Hackett had held there. Mr. Wilmarth S. Lewis, who was at the press from 1920 to 1922, knew that Byrne had some position there until 1915. Wilmarth S. Lewis to author, September 25, 1967.

he made, for instance, "shrewd remarks about socialism." Stressing the "art of life," Max's fun provided his "supreme justification as a critic of manners," Hackett added, "for on manners" there could "be no righteousness."¹²

W. H. Hudson, not yet popular in America, wrote with "admirable veracity, lucidity and restraint." Hudson's sympathy for nature and for man in his relation to things loved enabled A Shepherd's Life to use the "secret of personality." Hudson knew the shepherd's life so well and appreciated it "so subtly, that the truth...once more appeared in all its beauty."¹³

It was, however, the writers of urban social realism that most captured Hackett's attention. However much Hackett appreciated authors in sympathy with nature and country life, as were Galsworthy, Meredith and Hudson, however much the cultivation of a special attitude was rewarding, however much urban metaphors bothered him, Hackett

¹²Francis Hackett, "In A Minor Key," a review of Max Beerbohm's Yet Again (January 28, 1910), 1. Max's famous story of the hat box evoked for Hackett his "own memories of empty deserted platforms in the hollow silences of night" and gave "to fugitive impression the quality and distinction of an experience." S. N. Behrman, Portrait of Max: An Intimate Memoir of Sir Max Beerbohm (New York: Random, 1960), was stirred by many of the same stories and lines that had affected Hackett fifty years before. It was, of course, important that William James' brother also made real "experience" out of "fugitive" impressions. Equally important was the fact that Henry James made moral experience his literary province.

¹³Francis Hackett, "Still Waters," a review of W. H. Hudson's A Shepherd's Life (January 13, 1911), 1.

attached the greatest significance to urban British writers: Shaw, Chesterton, Harris, Wells, Bennett, Masfield, and E. M. Forster. All of them lived and wrote well into the third decade of the twentieth century, and some of them survived and spoke out much longer.

H. G. Wells, whose "New Spirit" challenged and disobeyed all customs in 1909, was the "prime representative of the new tendency." Accepting William James' contention that revolutions in the minds of individuals left most of what had been there intact, Hackett nonetheless held that revolutions did occur, and that Wells' Tono-Bungay was "epochal." Wells' revelations surveyed areas, such as sex, which gentlemen such as Henry James and George Meredith did not enter. Hackett cheered Wells' busy wreckage of the gentlemanly reticence. Wells revealed contemporaries to themselves, extended the frontiers of the novel, and brought light to dark places of the soul.¹⁴

¹⁴ Editorial, "Reticence in Fiction" (March 19, 1909), 4; Francis Hackett, "The New Man," a review of H.G. Wells' Tono-Bungay (March 26, 1909), 1. In his editorial, "Mr. Wells' Function" (March 26, 1909), 4, Hackett recognized that Wells' "critical attitude toward life" might seem dangerous to many interested in keeping truth away from their innocent and inexperienced wives and daughters! Wells thankfully rejected the protected society's ready-made solutions to life's problems and examined the quest of modern man, but while Hackett welcomed Tono-Bungay's ideas, he said that Wells misused metaphors, was insufficiently self-critical, and lacked discipline in writing.

As to the soul, in reviewing G. B. Foster's The Function of Religion (June 18, 1909), 1, Hackett said that "psychology" now demonstrated that the "soul" was evolutionary. The soul, getting an idea of God, made Him. Even

"Literature," Hackett explained, was "the direct reflex of life." Hippolyte Taine having demonstrated "what environment could do to art," Hackett now theorized that life in the modern city "favored" the intellectually agile Wells rather than the man of brawn in physical ages. But urban "American cleverness" lacked the "intellection" and the "soul" of Wells. "The only men," Hackett added, "who make it easy for us to go on are men like Mr. Wells," men who had once been confused by the "complexity of modern experience," who had been "daunted by the contradictions of philosophies," but who had struggled to a "comprehension of modern life and even tried to promote revisions or reconciliations." Wells, not greatly original, tried to "economize attention." His novel, Mr. Polly, "vital as a social comment," was a very entertaining story. His "serio-comic" treatment of this "shiftless member of the lower class," interesting to Hackett if it had merely analyzed Polly's mind, offered contrived changes in Polly's fortune and flights in Polly's imagination. Wells had transcended mere cleverness by recognizing "spiritual values." Only he wrote so well about the "lower middle class," of Dickens' people without Dickens' sentimentalism, but he also unfortunately

Christianity, therefore, was imperfect, and this led to the "most truly pragmatocal conclusion." Religion had to stand the test which other ideas stood, whether they did or did not contribute to humanity's interests. Wells and George Meredith, Hackett added, would agree to this approach which left man free to follow the "inner light." The "Book of Humanity" was superseding the Bible.

lacked Dickens' fraternity. It was more difficult to "justify" the people as Dickens had than to "banter" about them. Wells, tending to "overproduce," had written Mr. Polly too rapidly. It was not a "seasonal novel" nor on the whole "perfunctory," but, "inspired and amusingly revealed," it contained Wells' lucidity, stirring ideas, candor, and socialist conviction. Besides, Wells laughed at the English.¹⁵

Tono-Bungay, incomparably clever and surgical, had sliced through the superficialities with which other writers were content to criticize or accept the "tragic farce of modern business." It had provided a "vivid, nervous, quick-moving, multi-colored picture of the modern city and the modern man," and in The New Machiavelli Wells again presented "London and our confused contemporary life." But its hero expressed Wells' "own publicist's ideas;" Wells was too literally "'true to himself,'" for in this rushing, Wellsian confessional there was "precipitation" of much irrelevancy, fatuity, and egotism. In a novel, a literary form "intrinsically conventional," Wells' confessions suggested too much of the novelist's ego. As a "born preacher" Wells harangued to the detriment of faith in his characters' "actuality." They became masks "for God knows what personal

¹⁵Francis Hackett, "Mr. Wells' New Book," a review of H. G. Wells' The History of Mr. Polly (April 8, 1910), 1. Sinclair Lewis, far behind Hackett, first discovered Wells as an influence on his own life when Mr. Polly appeared. Sinclair Lewis, "Foreward" to The History of Mr. Polly (New York: Reader's Club edition, 1941).

purposes, and certainly," Hackett added, "not for the best purposes of art."¹⁶

But Wells communicated an "extraordinary excitement about life." His excitement, his "hectic interest in affairs, hectic ambition, hectic curiosity, hectic desire to know and to be, to have others know and have others be," made his novels contagious. In great ways Wells was "unsafe and insane." Fostered in a "metropolis and fed on all sorts of urban notions, theories and ideas," he mistook "nightmares for visions and witty theorizing for important cerebration." In flashing insights Wells saw more than did a thousand men, but he was subject to those illusions which come when "clever" men deal with the less quick. His "rapid little brain" kept "rapping out criticisms" which were greatly "acute" and greatly "inhuman." In fact his characters resembled the H. G. Wells of First and Last Things, idealists dreaming of a world of men finely ordered, happier, more secure, free from dirt and disease and misery and confusion. He represented the "sex side" of Richard Remington, a character, "more frankly than the sex side of any man in modern fiction," but something was "misunderstood," and the misunderstanding, the "lack of beauty," was "inherent" in Wells. Wells, a "master of actuality," had

¹⁶Francis Hackett, "A Choice of Evils," a review of Wells' The New Machiavelli (January 10, 1911), 1. Editorial, "The Audience" (September 6, 1910), 4. The New Machiavelli, badly structured, poorly "managed," excessively clever, riddled with trite epithets, repetitious in words such as "splendid and vast," contained a "peurle sensationalism" which a radical could not afford. The "impeded and dis-

written "vignettes of London" unequalled in "contemporary fiction," and he had "put the universe on trial," but he strained for effect, the strain showing in the very names of his characters, especially, Francis said irritably, in "Quacket." Wells' belief that the poor were enslaved by "mean fears" and decoyed by "mean satisfactions" were disappointing "half-truths," but Hackett admitted that he might have "misread" the spirit of Wells' novel: Remington's "meglomania" might be "deliberate." Wells had the "yeast of life in him, the microbe of adventure." His influence, not "wholly reasoned or successfully sublimated," was vital and sincere.¹⁷

concerted" narrative made it, compared to a "masterly" novel like Jean-Cristophe, "flimsy and ill-conceived."

¹⁷Francis Hackett, "A Choice of Evils," a review of Wells' The New Machiavelli (January 20, 1911), 1. Hackett traced what he regarded as the inconsistency of a radical on the question of moral rupture with the marriage system in Wells' Ann Veronica, First and Last Things, and The New Machiavelli, Editorial, "The Machiavellian" (February 3, 1911), 4.

Wells, in The New Machiavelli, had displayed a fine literary skill when he showed, for example, that Margaret had begun her marriage troubles with such a tiny thing as making an issue of her husband's occasional oaths. Wells, moreover, had a good chapter on "the party system." But he wrote in a "riot of blood," undervalued the "poised and the equable," lacked scruples as an artist, was at that time "restless, perplexed, feverish and unprincipled," favoring "change...captiously." Moreover, he applied "machine" standards to men, and asked for efficiency, discipline, direction, an impossible "logical, spic-and-span" ideal. His own Remington, Hackett believed, was confused. Our question in this chapter is, of course, not whether Hackett read any of these books correctly as much as how he read and criticized them.

Hackett, incidentally, did not as some Progressive intellectuals did, in disgust with the waste of contemporary American life and its wasted promise, cry out for a society

Arnold Bennett's The Old Wives Tale was never cheap and moved on "springs of wise invention." Bennett's "generous spirit" and superb common sense were rare in literature. Fiction usually portrayed life grand and adventurous and avoided the difficult task of presenting life in the scale of normal man where its presentation could easily be corrected. But Bennett's realism demanded a "vision of life" conditioned to actual needs, neither "crapulous" nor venal, a vision unknown to the sentimentalist who feared truth and hid his own nature in the night. Bennett had sketched our kin, bourgeois society from the 1860s to the 1890s.¹⁸

Bennett revealed human selfishness, comedy, and cruelty, telling in "loving detail" the "plain story of plain lives." Direct pointing of a moral was undesirable, but a literature which treated primal human conditions,

managed by "efficiency" and experts. In fact Hackett linked Frederick W. Taylor's The Principles of Scientific Management (May 26, 1911), 1, with one of Wells' "clean, hard, glistening conceptions, a person with a ball-bearing brain, a creature with only one enthusiasm, the enthusiasm of the executive," and after a great show of admiration for Taylor's work, and after making ironical statements about the sanction imparted by the word "Science," and after saying that it would be better to work efficiently than slovenly, Hackett feared that "this standardization" might be "depressing and inhuman in its effect, a sort of industrial prohibitionism, with all the charm and laxity and spontaneity of nature cut out...." Did it make the workers "happy?" he asked.

¹⁸Francis Hackett, "A Great Novel," a review of Arnold Bennett's The Old Wives Tale--A Novel (August 27, 1909), 1.

death, birth, passions and pain, had to confront them morally. It was, therefore, the "moral atmosphere" of Bennett's realistic novel which made it great. He was serious about those instincts which contained but included more than pleasure, and he yielded to neither the intoxication of ideas nor the egoism of happiness. He was no dogmatist; he laughed at his own creatures. His realism had great advantage over the "metriculous realism" of Moore's Esther Waters. Bennett had "experienced" his characters, remembered everything, and provided the idiom of his life. His style was clear, unaffected, modest, and simple, yet vivacious and vigorous. He saw life for himself but never sacrificed the story he told to the "pleasure of orientating himself." Hackett was most pleased that Bennett had found delightful fictive use for workaday life and bourgeois virtue. Gay amidst real facts, Bennett imposed neither glamor nor illusion on his bourgeois setting.¹⁹

Hackett identified Bennett with the modern, urban spirit in British literature. He was a "socialist" and a "realist," a man constitutionally "tough-minded" writing from a "modern city-dweller point of view" with "suburban jokes" and unelevated tone. Bennett regarded writers not as "economic parasites," however, but as articulators

¹⁹ Francis Hackett, "A Great Novel," a review of Arnold Bennett's The Old Wives Tale--A Novel (August 27, 1909), 1. Presumably Bennett's refusal to orientate himself in the midst of the novel's own reality was a virtue he held by contrast to Wells.

of passion and emotion and literature as a "means of life." William James had identified the substantial life with the wedding of an "'unhabitual ideal with some fidelity, courage and endurance.'" Bennett certainly possessed the latter half of the wedlock, and Hackett now raised the significant question of the place of the "unhabitual ideal" in modern fiction. Did Bennett recognize the "divinity of man" or was he indeed merely "stenographic" and bound to mundane materialism? Had he not conveyed the "'solid meaning of life'?" He had not given heroic proportions to provincial Englishmen and had not become "intoxicant" with the "expressive ideality of Tolstoy." True, but Hackett insisted that Bennett's novel, Clayhanger, with its "beautiful sympathy" for Edwin Clayhanger's "boyish idealism and its strong realization of his heroic love for Hilda," was "in the best sense imaginative and true." It was not sensational. It retained the "proportions of life by compelling us to reckon with the obvious." Bennett presented facts "never otherwise...understood" and did not assume that the reader could "account for the obvious." He spoke effectively to readers who sought not only "the solid meaning of life" but the "divinity which lies all about us." It was, therefore, not Clayhanger but Bennett's "short fantastic novels" which for some reason did not also represent a "sincere criticism of life."²⁰

²⁰Francis Hackett, "A Great Novel," a review of Arnold Bennett's The Old Wives Tale--A Novel (August 27,

Hackett admired George Bernard Shaw but questioned the methods and purposes of his art. Shaw preached the moral purpose of the theater and drove Hackett himself to semi-reaction, to a request for entertainment and indulgence such as Shakespeare provided. Shakespeare, moreover, was less theoretician and a better psychologist. There was much to say for the joy of self-expression in art. Shaw's belief that fiction was immediately purposeful propaganda dismayed Hackett. Shaw regarded the novel as a shaper of action rather than of ideas, but morals changed and men remained. Art should be socially useful rather than the immediately practical instrument Shaw made it. Art was long, and fundamental reforms did not spring from prejudicial revelation. "To resent our best heretic," Hackett admitted, "would be ungrateful," for Shaw had been invaluable as a reviser of "old standards," a great herald for the modern; and "in a country where ideas" were so much in professorial hands that discussion was "one long ritual of the dead burying the dead" Shaw did not treat ideas

1909), 1. Compare Hackett's remarks with his analysis of both I. Querido and Upton Sinclair as realists. For Bennett's and Hackett's faith in the ultimate judgment of the public and fate of the self-directed writer, see the editorial, "The Campaign Against Sincerity" (April 8, 1910), 4; "The Classics Defended" (February 11, 1910), 4; and "Clayhanger" (November 11, 1910), 4. What wonderful Clayhangers, Hackett exclaimed, could be made from Indiana! Scientific fiction, the fiction of "elated and eluded facts," did not reveal reality as did the realist who was also a "man of imagination" and could discover the "true image of things." Editorial, "Straight From Life" (July 7, 1911), 2.

as though he were "embalming a corpse." He refused to equate "truth with orthodoxy" or its "silly solemnity," and, Hackett declared with some insight, he had taken a "trump card away from our priesthoods, whose cleverest policy is to discount discussion in fundamentals as a failure in savoir faire." Where Rabalais had demonstrated his independence by obscenity, Shaw used "flippancy and irreverence." His "rationalism," however, had its defects. In Shaw's Dark Lady of the Sonnets Shakespeare was "a human being subjected to typical Shavian indignities."²¹

Fat G. K. Chesterton, whose view of social, philosophic, and literary reality Hackett loved to bounce off that of Wells and Shaw, fascinated Hackett even if he rarely agreed with him. Chesterton, wanting to be popular and democratic, not realizing that one could be either one without being the other, thought the "average" man a wise and democratic god. Hackett rejected Chesterton (and Mike Gold of the American 'thirties) by mocking the silliness of

²¹ Francis Hackett, "A Dramatist's Ideals," a review of Percy MacKaye's Playhouse and the Play (May 28, 1909), 1; Editorial, "Art with a Purpose" (December 3, 1909), 6; Editorial, "Shaw's 'Interlude'" (December 23, 1910), 4.

Shaw, Hackett pointed out, had attacked fox-hunting anti-vivisectionists and yet himself was, like Wells, inconsistent when he championed the car driver in clashes with dogs. Shaw was "an inhuman humanitarian, a fine specimen of mankind badly afflicted by cleverness." This did "not discount reform," but Hackett wished that "St. Bernard" were more solicitous of dogs. Editorial, "Mr. Shaw and the Dog." Hackett, according to Dell, became quite angry when, shortly before he resigned from the FLR, he returned from vacation to find that Dell had reviewed a volume of Shaw's plays. Floyd Dell to author, May 28, 1967.

apologizing to "Demos" for literature. Chesterton's irritating infatuation with the average man made him force the crass on the fastidious. Accepted lies were not the truth, and in the long run society discarded the crass.

The essential difference between Chesterton and Shaw, Hackett continued, was evidenced in Western culture's passage from a poetical to a critical atmosphere, from an age of faith to one of reason. Chesterton was the best of the reactionaries and his popular manner should not blind readers to his able intelligence. Perhaps rightly he thought Shaw a journalist who confused immediacy with power. Chesterton, who judged Shaw a modernist, a Puritan, and a Progressive, wrote in his George Bernard Shaw a valuable essay in criticism but not a biography; he would not let Shaw be Shaw. Although the radical Shaw was a theorist, said Hackett, he was not an impossibilist for he refused to give authority of the will over to reason and logic, while Chesterton's deliberately anti-intellectual attitude, his absurd and mystical faith in the common man, who could care less about him, spoiled Chesterton. Shaw did rather strictly dramatize people acting neatly by logic or illogic rather than erratically according to their moods. Shaw, master of his own soul, missed the poetry of the heart; while his dramas brimmed with ideas deserving and requiring discussion, they did not suggest live human beings to Hackett for their characters merely acted out Shavian ideas. Shaw sneered at Shakespeare's platitudes,

"forgetting that platitude makes the world kin." In this much Hackett agreed that Shaw perverted reality, but Chesterton erred by defending against Shavian attack not only love and romance but also hypocrisy, sentimentality, the foolish and unnecessary lies of average people, and their cowardice and tyranny. To him all fastidiousness was neurotic.²²

Hackett read with some gusto, nevertheless, Chesterton's illogical but relevant novel The Ball and the Cross. Chesterton, fantastical, sincere, was completely unreliable in argument because he habitually misrepresented what his opponent believed. His novel was not a real study of the problems of faith and reason. The crank in Chesterton made his characters embody only idea. They spoke exactly alike and were immune to the stupid ills of life. His arguments, dice loaded in favor of Catholicism, were unfairly satirical regarding science. Although Hackett did agree that the silly process of naming diseases deserved attack, he attacked Chesterton's blind assault on science.²³

²²Editorial, "Taking Literature Seriously" (April 23, 1909), 4. Francis Hackett, "Chesterton vs. Shaw," a review of Gilbert K. Chesterton's George Bernard Shaw (October 8, 1909), 1. Chesterton believed in spontaneity, recognizing as Hackett did that intellectuals could be ratiocinated away from life, but Chesterton's own response was to Hackett unacceptable slosh. Editorial, "Ideas on America" (November 19, 1909), 4.

²³Francis Hackett, "Chesterton Rampant," a review of Chesterton's The Ball and the Cross (January 14, 1909), 1. Hackett could accept neither Chesterton's anti-science nor what Hackett seemed to regard as Wells' dehumanization in the name of science. The novelist had to realize that it

In What's Wrong With the World, "with kind philosophy and keen intelligence," Chesterton argued for the "old-fashioned family and the old-fashioned private home" because he had "tremendous faith in the romance of conscience" and could readily "accept conditions of human nature" exasperating to an "irreconcilable like H. G. Wells." Chesterton thought Wells' desire to revise human nature Calvinistic and Puritanical. Chesterton, "confessedly bourgeois, Christian and sentimental," Catholic, and conventional, was also perverse, possessing a "reactionary philosophy," a complacency about "ordinary life," but also a "humility and faith," a "splendid gusto," and a healthy love for "common things and common people." Chesterton had decided, accustomed as he was to reading the comics and accepting them as a "true index to normal psychology," that William Blake's uncommon preoccupations must have bothered Mrs. Blake. The scholar J. H. Wicksteed, more sympathetic to Blake, hence more penetrating, saw that Mrs. Blake had not been a normal housewife at all. Chesterton "vulgarized" the "real" Blake, a man of great humanity and sympathy, tenderness and understanding. Chesterton was "a ponderous imp"

was "the preciousness of emotion" which was alone "important in a novel." Editorial, "The Provincial American" (April 21, 1911), 4. A novelist could not completely probe reality by "anticipating emotions" and being "exterior in interest." Francis Hackett, "Old Fashion," a review of Henry Sydnor Harrison's Queed (July 7, 1911), 1. Writers had to communicate personality. Francis Hackett, "Richard Mansfield, 1854-1907," a review of William Winter's Richard Mansfield (February 11, 1910), 1.

who had "sacrificed to special pleading and demagogery a real interpretation of Blake."²⁴ Wells and Shaw made reality a more coldly material thing than it was, but Chesterton sentimentalized reality.

Three other dissimilar English writers particularly interested Hackett from 1909 to 1911: Frank Harris, John Masefield, and E. M. Forster. Harris was a "realist" and a "modern spirit;" he had pioneered the effort toward psychological rather than a merely aesthetic understanding of Shakespeare. He had a "fine creative imagination," an impressive critical ability, was an authority on human experience, and was knowledgeable about men and the world. Complex and passionate, Harris wrote of a kindred soul,

²⁴Francis Hackett, "The Family," a review of Chesterton's What's Wrong With the World (September 23, 1910), 1. Editorial, "Mr. Chesterton's Church" (October 7, 1910), 4, discusses Chesterton's religion. Chesterton blamed William Blake for lifting the covers from sex. Chesterton's ideal, "beery sensuality," said Hackett, was more obscene than that of Blake and Whitman. Hackett denied that plowmen, except "cockney plowmen," "poetic clerks, reticent teamsters, modest public schoolboys,...maidenly undergraduates, and romantic and delicate private soldiers," had a sex idealism higher than that of the idealistically frank writers. Chesterton, who slapped "God on the back as if he were a friendly insurance agent," thought Blake vulgar! Francis Hackett, "William Blake," a review of G. K. Chesterton's William Blake and Joseph H. Wicksteed's Blake's Vision of the Book of Job (January 27, 1911), 1. Wicksteed was, in contrast to Chesterton, true to Blake and "to that religion which is beginning to combine out of William James, George Meredith, and other apostles of pragmatism."

Chesterton held that anyone who did not like "penny dreadfuls" was undemocratic, decadent, effete, and without the proper attitude toward raw life. Brimstone Jake, which followed Gunpowder Jim in the Beadle Frontier Series, was, Hackett decided, moral, melodramatic, heroic; Homer, not a

but Hackett did not share his disdain for Shakespeare as a man out of his element with action, a man weak, gentle, irresolute. Hackett also praised Harris' short stories. "Unlike many men of ideas," Harris was a "true raconteur" who handled "lovingly" a story "for its own sake" and the readers'. His "warm and brilliant-hued" stories contained, as did all of his material, a "curious, nervous force," a "tingling of vitality." He did "not take life with equanimity" and the experience he revealed was uncommon. His tales were media for an "intense personality," a man who had "plunged into life." He had such flaws, "sensitivity too savagely exposed, some sensualities too willfully indulged," that he had not emerged as a "perfect genius" might, although he shared some of the attributes of genius. Most important, the stories engaged in "that seething life of the passions, the emotions and the sympathies, into which not many people dive" and from which the emerged could "never be wholly sane and coherent." Genius might be more balanced but the "absence of intensity" did not of necessity imply discovery of the "golden mean." Both genius and cows had equanimity.²⁵

whit more heroic, had lacked the good sense to name his villain Brimstone Jake. Editorial, "Our First Heroes" (January 13, 1911), 4.

²⁵Francis Hackett, "The Soul of Shakespeare," a review of Frank Harris' The Man Shakespeare and His Tragical Life (November 12, 1909), 1. Francis Hackett, "Excellent Stories," a review of Frank Harris' Montes the Matador and Stories (July 8, 1910), 1. As Harris' autobiography shows, and Shan Bullock indicated somewhat in the FLR, Harris had

In Nan, John Masefield's 1908 play, Masefield had fixed "our attention to evil, as an intense and serious theme." Nan's "beauty and dignity" were revealed in an "environment as tragic as the environment of Tess;" the play's end was "not a solution, but a catastrophe." Swamp-
ed by "baseness and brutality," "consolation" came to Nan only when it was "jeering irony." But Masefield had too far heightened her beauty by the "shadows that fall upon it;" it was a "young man's play" with "little faith" and a "harshness as of a sensitive man made hard." The play's setting, dialect, and the "atmosphere of the tenant farmer's house" were quite realistic. It was deceptively easy to say that life was not all that "bad." These characters did exist. Masefield had not carried his readers' "hearts beyond good and evil" and missed, if they existed, any "compensations in the situation." Who, Hackett asked, was "so serene, so full of faith" to find them for Nan? Masefield's other plays, lacking Nan's "generosity and warmth," were merely competent. His novel, The Street of Today, examined contemporary England, but its hero was "seen very

been remarkable in his energies before 1909, not all of them, of course, directed toward literary intercourse. Hackett, as we have noted, knew of Harris' novel The Bomb. Editorial, "Frank Confessions" (July 29, 1910), 4.

As usual, Frank Harris had gone to some extremes in discussing Shakespeare. He had added new point to Shakespeare's lines, but he also grew "fanatical in applying his theory." Nevertheless, Hackett thought that Harris had come closer to Shakespeare than anyone before him.

fitfully throughout." Compared to the "geniune story" of Nan, the novel was "sick with subjectivity."²⁶

Of the young English writers, E. M. Forster probably most impressed Hackett. Forster's Howards End was particularly valuable for its "clear revelation" of the "female psychology." Forster, neither "romantic," "sentimental," nor "chilvaric," was "hugely intelligent" about women. He asked for "an intelligent faith in woman" and condemned "the ordinary dull 'sensual man,'" but his injustice to idealists made the novel "curiously dishonest." To justify the female character who recognized the "good qualities of a typical man of action" and married him, Forster portrayed the "perfectionist" as an "utter fool," defending the "world as it is" with the "ridiculous premise" that effective people were "intellectually dishonest" and "intellectually honest" people "ineffective." Yet Forster wanted to show "impatient modernists...the stunning good quality of Philistia" because he suspected the "superior Person" and "any attitude of superiority." He also spoke out against isolated, fragmented living. His novel contained a "keen sense of values and human intercourse," a "clever use of metropolitan material (as good

²⁶Francis Hackett, "John Masefield," a review of John Masefield's The Tragedy of Nan and Other Plays, and a review of Masefield's The Street of Today, A Novel (June 16, 1911), 1. Hackett sensed some confusion in Masefield. Impressed with many of Masefield's "pungent epigrams,... flashing observations and shrewd conjectures of men and women," Hackett yet tired of his novel's unrelieved short-sentenced style. Nevertheless, Masefield was "fastidious" in his word choice, and "Life" was a "fine thing" to him.

for Chicago as for London), and...wonderful discriminations about personal relationships." It barely escaped being "great." The greatest substantiation of "its brilliant observation and acute criticism" was "the fact that Mr. Wilcox might easily be a member of the Chicago Club,...and the Schlagels might have emerged, or half-emerged, from Bryn-Mawr."²⁷

²⁷ Francis Hackett, "The Enigma of Woman," a review of E. M. Forster's Howards End (February 3, 1911), 1. Hackett guessed incorrectly in 1911 that Forster was a woman, arguing that if there was such a thing as a "female psychology" then Forster's novel, Howards End, embodied it. It paid, Hackett thought, "to be lucid about the truth of our differing psychology for the sake of the higher power it gives us, the capacity for justice and intimacy."

Philistine's bride did live a much more actual life in this novel than her sister Helen, the idealist. But Forster was dishonest in two ways, in that "all efficient men" were identified with Wilcox, philistine and obtuse, and, Hackett insisted, the Helens, women who criticize Philistia, were not "all hysterical and unbalanced." Hackett refused to concede that Wilcoxes were the "salt of the earth" and that "refined" women who thought so had grasped some great truth. Philistine's bride actually became a "conventional woman" who wasted her life. Although Galsworthy could urge nothing "personal" against Wilcox that Forster had not ably urged, the spouse, Margaret, lacked "social consciousness," misunderstood intellectuals and even Wilcox because it was on that ground that Wilcoxes were "best convicted." She understood him better than her sister Helen, but Hackett did not accept her "feeble attitude of acquiescence and indulgence," her failure to correct what a woman would who had a "stronger sense of justice" and a greater "hatred of tyranny." Her "compromise" was dishonest; she called the truth that she feared to face madness but really meant discomfort. Because Forster made a "special plea for Margaret and Wilcox," Helen and the poor Basts were misrepresented. Helen's seduction of Bast occurred only in novels where it was "necessary that the hysterical idealist" play the fool.

Great European Interpreters of Man to Man

Among European writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Hackett especially admired Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Romain Rolland. He praised Tolstoy's "spiritual realism" and "relentless evaluation of the soul." A "man of action," Tolstoy had refused to accept the world as it was and shaped "life according to his consciousness." The "keenest critic of the existing system in our time," Hackett said, Tolstoy had also been the "greatest Self." Tolstoy's self-discipline had not been repressive but human and full of life and compassion. A "superman," he had chosen to remain a "lion in leash" and instead of "adapting" had been resolutely "himself" until the world met him on his terms. There was, Hackett offered, no "magnificence" comparable to a "soul invincible." Tolstoy had lived a full life and had "done more for humanity, probably, than any man in his time." He had enjoyed larger "experiences than any other genius;" his had been the "conscience of a true realist and of a hero."²⁸ To Hackett Tolstoy's

²⁸ Editorial, "Tolstoy" (November 25, 1910), 4. Keenly aware of Tolstoy's influence on the very serious Jane Addams, Hackett was incensed by the hitherto silent and uninfluenced Americans who in great numbers sang Tolstoy's praises on the occasion of his death. "Unless," Hackett lashed out at the late-comers, "we are in some degree Tolstoyians, and in revolt against the existing order, it would be more becoming not to rhapsodize." Francis Hackett, "Hull House," a review of Jane Addams' Twenty Years at Hull House (November 25, 1910), 1. There were, of course other Europeans Hackett admired with some reservation besides the three emphasized in this chapter. See, for example, Francis Hackett, "The Man Heine," a review of

greatness lay in his personal fight against the materialist definition of reality.

Romain Rolland's hero in Jean-Cristophe, at heart in search of "reality," repudiated "pleasant evasions, indulgences, hypocrisies and lies." Rolland himself was only happy when he adhered to the "actual facts as experienced." His ambition exceeded even Samuel Butler's The Way of All Flesh or Wells' in Tono-Bungay or Gorky's in Foma. It exceeded because it was more "explicit," and although Hackett was not sure after reading the first four volumes of Rolland's novel whether he had achieved a "more fundamental form of reality," Jean-Cristophe was a "valuable and profound criticism of life." "To say that," Hackett added, was "to say nearly everything."²⁹

Hackett liked the novel's "modernist individualism." As he read Dawn, the account of Jean's childhood, Rolland's fidelity to fact as he knew it convinced and enchanted

a translation of Gustaf Karples, editor, Heinrich Heine's Memoirs (January 6, 1911), 1; and Hackett, "Simple Annals," a review of Marquerite Audoux's Marie Claire, introduction by Arnold Bennett (March 3, 1911), 1. Heine had been "a whole creature who danced to the music in his soul." Mlle. Audoux had a "beauty" which lacked both sensation and propaganda. Heine, "a democratic idealist without being a prig," a man who loved "liberty" despite its dangers, a man for whom the "tragic possibilities of the psyche seem almost too much," a great imaginative poet, had believed in the "romance of the soul" and refused the "atrophy" of resisting emotions.

²⁹Francis Hackett, "The Truth," a review of Gilbert Cannan's translation of Romain Rolland's Jean-Cristophe: Dawn, Morning, Youth, Revolt (December 23, 1910), 1.

Hackett because it stirred his own "sad pleasure of remembering another child equally passionate, equally innocent, equally unbridled in suffering and joy." Was everyone's childhood "so sensitive and perturbed," Hackett wondered, or only those of the literary? As Rolland developed the events of Jean's life, Hackett felt his "special intensity," but were "emotions" so absolute and "tragic" in early youth? Certainly emotions were "most absolute" in dreams. At any rate there were "moments when the hot brand of life" was "stamped into young flesh," and Rolland had dramatized them. It was, Hackett significantly added, Rolland's "recognition of the high excitement and dazzling joys of childhood" that redeemed "from the squalid the story of Jean's beginnings." Here, at last, Hackett seems to say, was the corrective to many muokraker journalists and muokraker novelists of limited, material, perception.³⁰

In Revolt Jean began to find himself, and, as he achieved that "assurance of power" which was "one of the many joys of maturing," he began to judge people by the

³⁰Francis Hackett, "The Truth," a review of Gilbert Cannan's translation of Romain Rolland's Jean-Cristophe: Dawn, Morning, Youth, Revolt (December 23, 1910), 1. Rolland even convinced Hackett of Jean's artistic discipline, achievement conditioned by learning to achieve within limitations and despite obstacles. More, Rolland communicated the "pressure of living." He told also of Jean's "brutish faults." Rolland attacked the peevish, pedagogic view of beauty, and that pessimistic, middle-class, moral smugness which crushed happiness and beauty and made "vice appear more human than virtue." Rolland held "routine" to be the soul's enemy.

Rolland, Hackett believed, was successful in accounting for genius. May Sinclair, unfortunately, was not. Francis Hackett, "Tin Gods," a review of May Sinclair's The Creators (November 4, 1910), 1.

degree that they acknowledged truth. Hackett admired Rolland's picture of Jean as musical creator, a boy filled with emotions, ideas, "'vital relations and sufferings,'" who fought the world's evasions. Jean's basic struggle was the "eternal fight," and, as wrestled by Rolland, a "pungent yet sympathetic critic of man and the world," that great struggle should be obvious to all who detested moral evasions and "fugitive" desire and cherished "desires boldly and heroically declared, fought for, satisfied."³¹

Perhaps Hackett most completely expressed his desires regarding fictive realism not in his essays on British writers or Romain Rolland but rather in a reexamination of Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment (originally published in 1866) when it appeared in Dutton's Everyman Library. The "great Russian novels," Hackett explained, had a "naive, an extraordinarily fresh personal impression of life." Conjuring "specific impressions with the clarity of children," they put a "true value on their emotions." Regardless of their reverence or bitterness toward life, their humility or their irony, they revealed "treasured and ineradicable memories." The "great interpreters of Russian life," Hackett believed, valued "experience according to the dreams and expectations of youth," and, of as great importance to Hackett, they never seemed "drained of their human

³¹Francis Hackett, "The Truth," a review of Gilbert Cannan's translation of Romain Rolland's Jean-Cristophe: Dawn, Morning, Youth, Revolt (December 23, 1910), 1.

sympathies." There was, he said, "no great Russian novel ...not instinct with the brotherhood of man."³²

American novels often contained a "sense" of this brotherhood, "but life in the West" was so checked and balanced that "to be 'real' (that is, to live at first hand)," was virtually "impossible." In America "human sympathies" were "insulated" by docile and passive religion, by the maintenance of "property distinctions, a social externality, and especially by the anglo-saxon tendency to compromise and temporize." Consequently American fiction had its merits but in comparison with Russian fiction it was "cribbed and cabined." In contrast, Crime and Punishment removed both the "vertical...[and] horizontal partitions." Tolstoy had provided a "reasonable view of people," describing the tiny, true details of everyday life and gaining thereby his readers' confidence. Then he had advanced to the less familiar which the reader was pre-conditioned to accept. None of this "large, paternal, almost omnipotent feeling" was indulged by Dostolevsky. His fiction did not contain an "atmosphere of familiarity and common sense," for it did not appear even sane. He "bathed"

³²Francis Hackett, "Dostoleffsky's Masterpiece," a review of Fedor Dostoleffsky's Crime and Punishment (June 30, 1911), 1. Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Spring Books" (March 24, 1911), 1, had held that there was no other so "profound and moving" a novel, and that it was much more terrifying than tales by Gorky and Tolstoy. "To read it is to be washed clean of smugishness and complacency. It is to walk on the flints in bare feet, to touch those realities we so easily forget in the smoother life of America."

the novel, instead, in "sepulchral blackness," and Raskolnikof, murderer, his "fever and monomania" insistent, moved in an intense light. It was a "clinic," albeit one of such "extraordinary realism" that it became "very nearly insupportable." Hackett accepted both methods of realism, Tolstoy's and Dostolevsky's, but it was Dostolevsky's reality that was painfully actual.³³

Crime and Punishment transcended the Anglo-Saxon "convention" which quit when situations became too "intense." Raskolnikof's mind, emotions, and actions were utterly "real," and his "subsequent delirium" captured Hackett in the strains of nocturnal delusions. Hackett was obsessed by the novel's unbearable "suspense." But there would have been no "horror," he decided, if Raskolnikof had possessed any "moral justification" for his act of murder, or if he were a "defenseless victim of society." Instead he was an "intellectual" suffering from "monomania," committing crime for insufficient motive. It was, Hackett said, "morbidly, diseased intellectualism" which determined the plan. Raskolnikof's "shocking lucidity" captured Hackett's "imagination." Dostolevsky, moreover, had surpassed "all other masters of horror" by fully "communicating Raskilnikof's own trepidations."³⁴

³³Francis Hackett, "Dostoleffsky's Masterpiece," a review of Fedor Dostoleffsky's Crime and Punishment (June 30, 1911), 1.

³⁴Ibid.

He had avoided melodrama by transcending the "dangers" of Raskilnikof's situation to depict with sympathy the "murderer's environment;" he avoided Dickensque freaks by inducing the reader to join in "his exalted sympathy for misfortune and wretchedness." Dostolevsky's view of man and man's world gave his art much broader scope than even a sympathetic Dickens commanded. Dostolevsky gave the story "new human significance." Crime and Punishment was not pervaded by "DeMorgan's sentimentalism or Tolstoy's religious spirit," but rather by an "understanding at once more caustic and more sympathetic." "Were the irony, the fantastic humor, of these slums less clearly perceived," Hackett said with a careful choice of words, "the pathos of Sonia would not so deeply touch us;" Dostolevsky had made "no brief for the miserable!"³⁵

Hackett's essay vigorously asserted his great appreciation for Dostolevsky's use of tolerance and sympathy,

³⁵Francis Hackett, "Dostoleffsky's Masterpiece," a review of Fedor Dostoleffsky's Crime and Punishment (June 30, 1911), 1. Characteristically, Hackett thought, Dostolevsky allowed Raskolnikof's charitable donation to be thought by one character a "noble impulse and by another a pathological sympathy, an aberration." The scene which most stirred Hackett came when Raskilnikof rose from "his morbid and furtive mood," visited Sonia, kissed her feet, and bowed "to suffering humanity in her person." "Only" Hackett used that word quite deliberately--only "Dostolevsky could have written this;" his irony containing "grave understanding." Dostolevsky's "moral," his unexpected comment on the "superman" theme and men "embued only with intellect and will," was "nothing without the fascination and horror of this novel, "one of the wonders of the written word."

Dostolevsky's refusal to limit his art to a muckraker or a naturalist "brief" or glib idealism and moral omniscience, his refusal to confuse immediacy with power, and his ability to present so deep a moralism in art that it encompassed great complexities within the human condition. Although Hackett did not "conclude everything as to Dostolevsky from this one novel," he recognized in him "a master, one of the few great interpreters of man." Dostolevsky stood on the "borderland between sanity and insanity, between poverty and crime, between student life and the underworld," a world where people flashed about in the "phantasmagoria of passion and necessity." Dostolevsky watched with "intensity and yet with consummate patience," free from "illusions and...useless pity." He attempted "no easy pathos." The "Crime" did not freeze his heart nor subdue his sympathies nor wring protest from him, but the "Punishment" awakened his "soul." As the "flame of the inner life rises and falls," Hackett concluded, he felt "the heart of Dostolevsky beat quicker" because the Russian believed "in forces that heal as well as wound."³⁶

Mortal Fiction in America

"Walt Whitman, who emancipated himself, failed to emancipate the artists of America."
Francis Hackett

³⁶Francis Hackett, "Dostoleffsky's Masterpiece," a review of Fedor Dostoleffsky's Crime and Punishment (June 30, 1911), 1.

The "discrepancy" between contemporary American and English fiction was to Hackett a frequent and "mournful" reflection.³⁷ American novels, Hackett insisted, were not "written as conscientiously" as English novels. They did not make "life as rich, as significant, as pungent, as momentous," nor probe so deeply or completely, nor contain such useful "subject-matter." They were not "as close to life" or as "disinterested or as inspired." They were not as "alive with ideas or as quick with wit." There was, however, no "modern civilization" that had fostered "an art more brave and headlong than the American art of Walter Whitman."³⁸

Between 1909 and 1911, Hackett praised two groups of American writers, one older or deceased and the other some-

³⁷Editorial, "An American Essayist" (December 24, 1909), 4.

³⁸Editorial, "Our Domestic Novels" (April 1, 1910), 4. Hackett rejected Thomas Nelson Page's assertion that American novels were as good as English novels. Hackett was too harsh in his denial of contemporary American novelistic talent. He did say that Twain, Howells, Henry James, Jack London, Edith Wharton, Robert Herrick, Henry Fuller, Ellen Glasgow, O. Henry, and David Graham Phillips did some significant work. Nevertheless, compared to England, "serious" fiction was seldom written and "less favored" in America. America was not, however, intrinsically less artistic, nor did democracy necessarily produce mediocrity. Serious Americans bought the "real thing from England," he said, because it was real, not because it was English. Page was also wrong to say that the English were themselves provincial readers, for they read American authors, James Lane Allen, Winston Churchill, Booth Tarkington, Hamlin Garland, Stephen Crane, Henry Harland, and Harold Frederick. In that same issue however, Shan F. Bullock pointed out that it was the English sensationalist rather than the inner-directed English novelist who made the most money in England.

what younger, emerging or yet productive. Walt Whitman, he said, was "the American Genius." Whitman's "passion for humanity" had exceeded even his "passion for ideas" and his "advocacy of reforms." He had not examined "humanity as a botanist looks at bugs." His Leaves of Grass was, said Hackett, the "bible of democracy" if not of "demos."³⁹

His "sexual revelation" misunderstood by his own "mawkish disciples," by "Boston prudes," and by the "government hypocrites" who had "deprived" him of his post, Whitman's "barbaric yawp" was not simply sexual but a "symbol of democracy." Hackett hoped that Whitman's "mystical faith in democracy" and his "sound and searching criticism of the contemporary republic" would some day be accepted. Already his free verse, his patterns of rhyme and rhythm were less controversial than before.⁴⁰

Perhaps the nation even then approached a greater comprehension and "adoption of its greatest genius--genius

³⁹ Francis Hackett, "The American Genius," a review of George Rice Carpenter's Walt Whitman (April 30, 1909), 1. Carpenter was too cautious in discussing Whitman's "sexual revelation." Hackett agreed with James Oppenheim's defense of Whitman as the voice of struggling democracy and disagreed with Chicago's The New World which regarded sex as slimy. Besides, Rodin had demonstrated that the ugly in nature could be beautiful in art. Whitman had found in unstudied man the source of an imperfect, but essential art and articulation of democracy. Editorial, "The Vulgarian" (June 24, 1910), 4.

⁴⁰ Ibid. Whitman and Swinbourne had written from within their hearts. They could be understood by the "spirit" but not "reason" alone. Editorial, "Critic and Creator" (January 23, 1911), 4.

whose new and beautiful language rhythms" typified the "larger rhythms of life that...hitherto escaped literature." Whitman had been "honestly and proudly himself," but, Hackett explained, "the more a man possesses his soul, the more he possesses the soul of humanity." In this fashion Whitman had "revealed those multiple other selves whom he lived in and loved." His articulations brought the initial rush of the "vast social wave on the shoals of literature." If one wished truly to "understand democracy" in a picture somewhat "incomplete," he should read Whitman. His "love of the working people," one of the "most vital facts in his life," had not been reciprocated. But, said Hackett, it is often true that we fail to recognize what most expresses us. A "white man" not only did not "know his own aroma," he thought it "indelicate" to say he had one.⁴¹

⁴¹Francis Hackett, "The American Genius," a review of George Rice Carpenter's Walt Whitman (April 30, 1909), 1. Hackett also praised Mark Twain. Editorial, "Mark Twain" (April 29, 1910), 4. See the important editorial, "A Great Humorist" (October 7, 1910), 4. Twain's humor, Hackett insisted, was universal. Innocents Abroad fell "just short of greatness" because Twain did not know and "love" Europe enough for great satire. Truth, Hackett says in one instance after another, emerged from love rather than mere cold analysis or rejection. Hackett had something of the same criticism of Twain's satirization of the Middle Ages, A Yankee in King Arthur's Court. Twain's greatness was in his studies of American life, and Hackett listed, in order, Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer, and The Gilded Age.

Twain had been more than an American humorist, and "only a great nation" had "lived so fully in imagination the inspired and inspiring pages of the Mississippi Valley epic." Twain had used the "humor of sympathy and fraternity" to create the world of Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer. His stories were a "profound" part of the "national consciousness."

Hackett wanted an American fiction involved in "commonplaces," a fiction that regarded "common life,... common people, and common affections" as things quite as "precious in their possibilities as the life of the virtuoso, sophisticated, calculating and discreet." Conscious of Henry James' "essential preoccupation" with the "ascetics of private relations" and his concern with artistic point of view, Hackett knew that the "red-meat public" did not care for James' stories, such as "The Velvet Glove." Perhaps James' "values should...be transvalued," but there were "people, themselves a fountain of perpetual personal anticipation," for whom the story, "this brilliant, artful, whimsical, ironic little version of a social illusion," would be greatly pleasant. There were not many, but Francis Hackett was one of them, and he found in James the "keenest of all pleasure in intercourse; a sharper remembrance, a brighter elucidation" of his own fuddled experience than he had ever achieved alone. Henry James did not bite vigorously into great and raw themes. He was emotionally weak and incomplete because he did not draw even as much as lesser writers on common existence or present that great "unpremeditated thrill which is the splendor of life." He failed in that he was "not direct, incisive and compelling enough." He was "too passive, dignified...to sprint after a streetcar." Hackett, not so tightly bound to sociological novelists as the anti-Jamesian Arnold Bennett appeared to be, could see the special perceptions offered by James

and his disciple, Max Beerbohm. Still, Hackett did prefer in a streetcar age men who could come to grips with street-cars.⁴²

There was some chance that William Allen White, Robert Herrick, Joseph Medill Patterson, George Cram Cook, and playwright Edward Sheldon, by maturing as writers, might produce significant expressions of the realities of modern American life. Hackett did not think that Jack London or Upton Sinclair, special pleaders, polemicists rather than artists, would ever do so. Although Frank Norris and David Graham Phillips had not matured as novelists, and Hackett seems justifiably to have had more respect for Norris, he was convinced that no one was really carrying forward an American realism. By this Hackett did not mean "to belittle...present novelists (William Dean Howells, Robert Herrick, Jack London, Brand Whitlock)," but he did believe

⁴²Francis Hackett, "Discriminations," a review of Henry James' The Finer Grain (December 2, 1910), 1. James lacked the startling emotional power of "inspired genius," lacked "civic pride" or the "republican spirit or the anarchist's divine discontent." If he did not gnaw on great themes, however, James, like a cat, could through a "series of exquisite maneuvers, of gentle, deft unravellings, of patient persistencies," diligently search to the "heart" of a small "mystery." James was true to himself; Bennett made the philistine mistake of demanding edification rather than revelation of life from James. Accustomed to asserting that "conduct" was most of life, Hackett pointed out, "we" were unprepared for James' "following of predilection." Practical men were impatient with "such savoring of sensation, such apparently unremunerative living." Hackett admitted, however, that even death was limited in James, spilling "red ink instead of red blood." Hackett's only FLR review of Howells was in "Life After Death," a review of William Dean Howells, et al., In After Days (March 4, 1910), 1.

that the "veristic tradition" had stopped. Nevertheless, the nation required a fictive discussion of the ways of American life, an interpretation of urban and village America, required "that spiritual correlation and justification" which was "veristic fiction" at its best. Herrick, Hackett decided, had probably come closer than his contemporaries to "interpreting his time," but his "brush" was "too heavy for his wrist;" he had "the will, but not the way." Although Herrick had "promoted the ideal," it remained for a "more sanguine and a more powerful novelist to fulfill the ideal."⁴³

Herrick, "one of the few" American novelists bringing "life into focus" in a deep realization of the "terms of our modern adventure," was not "insulated from hard facts by respectability," as was Winston Churchill, nor did he,

⁴³ Francis Hackett, "Jack the Giant Killer," a review of Jack London's Revolution and Other Essays (April 22, 1910), 1. Hackett described London's Burning Daylight as one of the few works of "serious fiction" that season. Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 7, 1910), 1. An unsigned review described London's Theft as a dull melodrama and a poor attempt to dramatize the textbooks. (December 30, 1910), 3. Hackett held that the title of London's Adventure was "too generic," and that he wrote without "inspiration" even though London was "too good" to waste his talents. Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Spring Books" (March 24, 1911), 1. Bennett, Hackett added, was also beginning to "disregard inspiration." See, for Upton Sinclair, Francis Hackett, "The Novel of the Week," a review of I. Querido's Toil of Men (October 22, 1909), 1; Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Spring Books," (March 24, 1911), 1. Phillips, like London, was "insensitive." Editorial, "The Provincial American" (April 21, 1911), 4; Editorial, "Sentimentalists" (July 14, 1911), 2.

as did Jack London, make a "speciality of hard facts" and present them "with an adolescent gospel of hate." London did not have Herrick's "sense of responsibility." Herrick, unlike London, did "not pervert the psychology" of the people he criticized. Herrick's A Life for a Life was, therefore, a "fundamentally earnest and responsible" attempt to interpret "our American life today."⁴⁴

Robert Herrick told of a "revolt against the whole present scheme," a reaction that all felt, said Hackett "whose moral arteries...[were] not already sclerosed." Nevertheless, Arnold Bennett's The Old Wives Tale had better shown artistically how to handle an "epoch." Herrick had "sacrificed the more touching, personal emotions usually aroused by the novelist's hero," but he had presented a "well-proportioned picture of the system by which we are living." His novel was, in that, realistic. Herrick "accepted the sociological conception of society" and was a sociological novelist, a type then "superseding the so-called psychological" Russian and Russian-influenced novelists. Regrettably Herrick regarded men as "puppets in a terrific economic fight." He used characters as "mouth-pieces," but he also gave contemporary "life as a whole."

⁴⁴ Francis Hackett, "The Golden Image," a review of Robert Herrick's A Life for a Life (June 3, 1910), 1. Hackett held that the popular author Winston Churchill wrote novels which as novels "should not be taken seriously" but were, instead, to be attended as the "incarnation" of bourgeois ideas. Francis Hackett, "A Woman's Evolution," a review of Winston Churchill's A Modern Chronicle (April 1, 1910), 1.

Hackett much too generously regarded Herrick's approach to contemporary life, unlike London's, as without "preconception," somewhat as a "scientific sociologist of the Veblen order." Businessmen might not think Herrick's view objective but Hackett did. Herrick's social view, Hackett held, performed that essential "service of awakening and directing sympathies." Nevertheless, Hackett admitted that A Life for a Life was much less a novel and much more a tract than it ought to be. Art should specify not generalize, for it was not a social science; it should be understood intuitively more than rationally. Herrick appealed to reason more than "perception and feeling" and generalized on society, but his novel deserved "the most serious consideration." It was not only as a "work of art" that a novel should be "considered;" any novel which had a "fine sociological insight and broad sociological interest" required attention.⁴⁵

⁴⁵Francis Hackett, "The Golden Image," a review of Robert Herrick's A Life for a Life (June 3, 1910), 1; Editorial, "Novel or Tract?" (July 1, 1910), 4. Hackett conceded to American and especially Chicago writers, Joseph Medill Patterson and Robert Herrick, what he could. Herrick piled up improbabilities, but his pictures were "typical and veristic," violating the "laws of change" but not those of life. Herrick used typified scenes and characters but also artistic selection for essentially the honest purpose of introducing the "representative life of today." Commercialists were not simply mocked but related to decent citizens. He had put in the novel a "wealth of intelligence and criticism, sincerity and feeling." Although the "mold" was "conventional" and the characters often "remote," there was in Herrick's novel the vital spirit of one who troubled, who pondered the "struggles of our common life."

Edward Sheldon's play "The Nigger" did at least demonstrate that American drama was at last approaching "American facts." It was "no mincing comedy but a bold presentment of a social issue," and Sheldon himself was part of a "new, inspiring dramatic dispensation in America." A public tired of superficiality flocked to this boldly written and hence "theatrically alive" play, but "theatrical success and artistic success" were not the same things; the play lacked the "high and aloof quality of literature." Verbally it was rightly "plain as a packing case," but "in style in the sense of literature--style as a synonym for self-expression"--it was "commonplace." Self was "life seen personally and felt personally." There was "authentic feeling" at times, even occasional communication exciting the "purging emotions of life," but this was not the entire play's essential effect. It was merely "smart journalistic deduction." The incidents in the play, which reminded Hackett of news from the South circulated by the Associated Press, had been shoved "'across the footlights;" the play remained "negligible and essentially cheap." Sheldon's "frankness and clean incision" suggested that he was a "playwright of promise," but he had to qualify "his keen journalistic instinct" with articulation of what he knew "rather than [with] the problem that can be crammed up for exposition."⁴⁶

⁴⁶Francis Hackett, "The Tragedy of Color," a review of Edward Sheldon's "The Nigger" (September 16, 1910), 1. Hackett wished that Sheldon had dramatized what he knew,

George Cram Cook also produced an inferior art somewhat rescued by its substance. His novel The Chasm dealt in part with the Midwest; it was a "great satisfaction" to discover a Midwestern novelist writing about Moline, Illinois. Dell's old Davenport friend had written, Hackett decided, a novel not only possessed of a "big soul" and "great ideas" but also a "peculiar intensity...rare in American fiction." The novel's "sincerity" caught him "like a quick look of understanding...." Writing from his own "heart," without imitation, "compromise or reservation," Cook boldly revealed a "fearless grasp on life as a whole." "The only defect," Hackett sighed, was a "defect in verisimilitude." Cook copied not the familiar world but something much closer to his "heart's desire." This sometimes produced a "falsity" which might not "disprove his theory" but certainly convicted "his art." Falsification of life in behalf of theoretic consistency, Hackett had often pointed out, was fictively weak and humanly ineffective.⁴⁷

what was revelatory instead of journalistically exploitable. He could then have created developed characters and involved the audience in their situation but had provided, instead, sensationalism. His "platitudes" were "evasive." "If Moody and Sanky" were "sociologists" than so was this play.

Francois Hackett, "Stonewall Jackson," a review of Mary Johnston's The Long Roll (June 9, 1911), 1, said that this novel did not convey the adventure of Stonewall Jackson's soul; he was reported but "not revealed." Mary Johnston lacked the "higher gift of conceiving character, and seeing life as the creative artist sees it...."

⁴⁷ Francois Hackett, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 14, 1910), 1; Francois Hackett, "Revolt," a review of George Cram Cook's The Chasm (February 17, 1911), 1.

Cook's hero, a young socialist in love with an heiress, was a "man after Bernard Shaw's heart, a healthy and wholesome specialist primed with egoistic philosophy, entirely lacking in self-consciousness, ready with his Nietzsche and his Stirner, his biology and his natural science history of the universe," a man with "ideas of the class struggle and dynamic monism, industrial chaos and reform." The novelist through his hero too easily won a "thoroughly unconvincing public argument," and while the heroine's behavior was highly suspect, the hero accepted it "like a horrid-headed Shavian." Cook spoiled the novel's virtues by interpreting his heroine not in her own terms but in those of Cook's "own 'dynamic monist.'" Transported by his "pedantry," Cook, in his effort to demonstrate his personal escape from the "metaphysical confusion, the sociological poverty, the political complacency, of conventional novelists," had so droned on about politics, society and metaphysics that The Chasm had almost become a "tract."⁴⁸

Herrick and Cook pulled Hackett in two directions when they failed to keep artistic faith but provided keen sociological and other comment on contemporary society. "When," Hackett asked in anguish, would "serious American novelists learn the art of concealing art?" Cook's tale had

⁴⁸Francis Hackett, "Revolt," a review of George Cram Cook's The Chasm (February 17, 1911), 1.

great, uncommon "spiritual qualities;" it did not have that "humility before Fact which is the prerequisite of fiction." A novelist was not, in his scale of values, first a philosopher or a moralist or a humanist, but was, Hackett asserted, one who gave "life as it really is, the supreme amateur who discards all theories that are not inherent in experience." If experience bore out theories, fine, but it was experience not theory that was the "stuff of the novel." Cook, for example, was good when he was "true to Moline and Zhergan," but when his premeditation became apparent his story became merely another tract and as such was as bad as those by Thomas Dixon, Marie Corelli, or Hall Caine. Sociological arguments could not truly redeem an artistic failure. All novelists premeditated, but "like God" the good ones concealed their "premeditations" and gave their readers "at least the illusion of free will."⁴⁹

Why was American fiction "second-rate as literature and first-rate only in moral purpose?" The American "nationalist" had to investigate this "concrete problem." Why was America not producing great novels and plays? The "answer," Hackett decided, was "sociological." America would not fulfill its cultural promise until its "crude yet fundamental social problems" were "adjusted." Until then, Hackett sighed, the "criticism of life" in commercial America would remain "blunt and material, and...mortal with the

⁴⁹Francis Hackett, "Revolt," a review of George Cram Cook's The Chasm (February 17, 1911), 1.

mortality that infects all literature done without delight." While the Europeans accomodated themselves to a fixed environment and were occupied with "social rearrangement," and developed a literature that transcended the material, the Americans were yet busy influencing their environment. No "serious literature of human relationships" could yet be created in America, Hackett wrongly suspected, nor could there be a "great national criticism of life" in the young nation. It was "premature" to expect "finished art in America." There was, to be sure, Whitman's poetry, but his "great interpretation of America" had not yet been nationally realized. Honest tracts, inartistic and humorless briefs produced by Upton Sinclair, were real attempts to expose life as Sinclair had seen it, and, said Hackett, "in this inarticulate country" that was "something of the highest value." Nevertheless, there was no one in 1911 "bringing this country into emotional focus." The "veristic tradition," he believed, "was halted."⁵⁰

Mere sociological realism was not enough; the great artist more deeply perceived reality because he penetrated, and not with reason alone, beneath the surface of things.

⁵⁰ Editorial, "The Great American Novel" (May 6, 1910), 4; Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Spring Books" (March 17, 1911), 1; Editorial, "The Provincial American" (April 21, 1911), 4; Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Spring Books" (March 24, 1911), 1; Francis Hackett, "The Novel of the Week," a review of I. Querido's Toil of Men (October 22, 1909), 1; Editorial, "Realism" (October 22, 1909), 4.

Great realists dealt with the hidden, the unconscious and subconscious fears and desires as well as with the actual, ugly and beautiful, conditions of the material world. The mixture of social realism and romantic perception of internal human reality, desired by Hackett, marked the major writers of both the Chicago Renaissance and, perhaps more than has often been assumed, those of the 1920s. The reality Hackett desired was not that described by Hofstadter but that sometimes written by Sherwood Anderson. Hackett asked for individual representations of reality in terms of people and honest sociology, but he asked for sympathetic literature rather than muckraker briefs or pity for the poor, for those were ends unto themselves rather than open avenues to the flux of complex and emerging reality.

Francis Hackett wanted a fictive interpretation of reality and especially the realities of American life, but those realities were not merely economic and social. As a disciple of William James, Hackett had decided that an artist worked from his internal and intuitive associations and revelations. On precisely these grounds he had rejected James' friend and philosophic opponent John Jay Chapman as well as Upton Sinclair's jungle. The artist did not merely hold a mirror up to nature and thus achieve realism, nor was he only an intellectual rationally discovering moral truths. Reality was the internal perception of attentive genius (Tolstoy, Whitman, Dostoevsky).

To Hackett, as to James and many European writers at the turn of the century, reality grew with the artist's imaginative use of it. James had even described this inner-directed discovery of reality as the "stream of consciousness." The appreciation of reality was, moreover, relative. Form therefore could not be prescribed, because genius discovered reality by reshuffling the conventional labels of association. Using William James and other British and American writers, Hackett entered with Samuel Butler, James, Nietzsche, Croce and Sigmund Freud the war on nineteenth-century scientism and maintained that mind and art learned things "science" did not. This position was, in Jacques Barzun's phrase, neither anti-modernism nor scientism, but a "true third position" which required a "greater candor in everyone's dealing with the data of experience" and re-instated the mind.⁵¹

⁵¹Hackett held that James had revealed the importance of "temperament" not logic in a man's philosophy. He denied that James owed any part of his philosophy to Henri Bergson. "Literary Small Talk" (July 7, 1911), 6. For the discussion of William James and much of this description of reality, see Jacques Barzun, The Energies of Art, "William James and the Clue to Art," 320-350. In effect Barzun is using James' Psychology to discuss James' rather vital view of art. It is, of course, one of the attempts to separate--in defense of James--pragmatism from practicalism. See also Stow Persons, American Minds: A History of Ideas (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958), 201-362, especially chapter 20, "The Critique of Nationalism," chapter 22, "Walter Lippmann's Politicoanalysis," chapter 23, "Pragmatism;" Charles Forcey, The Crossroads of Liberalism: Croly, Weyl, Lippmann, and the Progressive Era, 1900-1925 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), on Herbert Croly as a follower of William James (pp. 16-21), Walter Weyl as a follower of James (pp. 77, 80), the influence of Henri Bergson, William James, Graham Wallas and Sigmund

Reality was in part man-ufactured, fugitive, and it was eternal only as it temporarily fit our varying experience. Reality was not mere "external and material events," but rather emotional, fraternal, and imaginative, intuitive as well as analytical. The gaps in the muckrake missed what a more total sympathy would use to realize American life.

Freud on Walter Lippmann (pp. 96-118). In all of these there is evidence that the view of reality discovered in William James' Pragmatism and Francis Hackett's FLA reviews was shared by the major New Republic editors. The "Magazine Critique" (November 25, 1910), 4, discussed Walter Lippmann's "William James: A Man of Open Mind." For the philosophic change in viewing reality wrought in part by James see Paul Conkin's Puritans and Pragmatists: Eight Eminent American Thinkers (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1968), 266-276. For the European background see H. Stuart Hughes, Consciousness and Society, chapter II, on the "revolt against positivism" by Henri Bergson, Sigmund Freud, and others. John Higham, "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890's" in Horace Weiss, editor, The Origins of Modern Consciousness, p. 25-48, notes that the American intellectual revolt against formalism begins in the 1890s but does not go so far in radical subjectivity as did the European thinkers. Instead, history was scientific history, philosophy empirical, and psychology behavioral. Americans in the 1890s, said Higham, were yet reaching outward while Europeans turned inward. This then would seem to make Hackett's insistence on the reality of the inner life in the early twentieth-century significant in that cultural revolution that Higham partly begins even before the dates assigned by Morton White and Henry May.

Henry May, The End of American Innocence, 319-320, stresses the influence of James, Freud, Bergson, and Wells on Walter Lippmann. May, p. 321, adding that with Lippmann's A Preface to Politics (1913) and Drift and Mastery (1914) "at last, it seemed, political thought had caught up with psychology and literature; at last it was dealing with reality and not abstraction.... Walter Lippmann in 1913 was not able to reconcile progressivism, relativism, and psychoanalysis. He could not bring together reason and emotion. He could not explain how human intelligence, itself at the mercy of complex and mysterious forces, was to use and redirect human instincts."

While the "imagination" of the Progressive era may well have been, as Richard Hofstadter said, "more fundamentally conditioned by reporters and literary journalists" than is generally recognized, that imagination and the "inside story" it wanted to tell may have been much more complex and much less naive than Hofstadter, among many others, has assumed.⁵²

⁵²William James, as Paul Conkin indicates in Puritans and Pragmatists, p. 276, "wanted to preserve the analytical rigor and the metaphysical economy" of the naturalists, modified by "a tender-minded defense of moral and religious insight." Praising the "lofty elevation of his philosophic enemies, the idealists," James opposed "their meaningless abstractions and their monistic absolutism. The solvent for all the differences seemed to be a new, psychologically informed understanding of the prime reality of life--direct experience."

Hackett, as did James, eagerly welcomed Sigmund Freud's help in understanding reality. Hackett read about the studies by Freud, Pierre Janet, Morton Prince, Boris Sidis, and many other investigators in psychology on both sides of the Atlantic. If nervous disorders were not organic in origin, Hackett pointed out, then "we shall be spared the classification of 'type.'" Hackett, often probing the meaning of dreams, discovered in Dr. Isador Coriat's Freudian handbook, Abnormal Psychology, "the realism of life as we know it." Freudian psychology did not turn Hackett to pessimism or anti-intellectualism, but rather to a "thrilling" understanding. The naturalists defended the "obduracy and machine-like character" which the "sentimentalists" had described as science, becoming special pleaders for the ugly and special attenders to the hidden. Zola had missed the "reality" of living flesh which could not be deduced. George Moore and David Graham Phillips had assumed in a material, pseudoscientific fashion a false impartiality and impersonality. It was, however, as "scientific" to "proclaim...the possible transcendence of the mind" as it was "to proclaim the weaknesses of human nature." Life had to be related to "our ecstatic and exalted" as well as "our inert and prosaic selves." Beauty, more difficult to explain than "squalor and grossness," was just "as fit subject matter for science." Science, diagnostic, could, Hackett insisted, become a "servant of happiness." "Facts" and "human happiness" were both necessary concerns of a genuine "Realism." Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New

Spring Books" (March 24, 1911), 1; Editorial, "Read Twice" (April 14, 1911), 4; "Magazine Critique" (November 4, 1910), 5; Editorial, "The Meaning of Dreams" (March 3, 1911), 4; Editorial, "Illusion" (March 10, 1911), 4. I am reasonably sure that all of these were by Hackett rather than, as Floyd Dell was later described, "Freud" Dell.

This connection between literary realism and Jamesian and later Freudian psychology is a maturing theme in Hackett's career. Francis Hackett, "William James as High-brow," The New Republic, VIII (September 23, 1916), 184-186; Francis Hackett, "Totem and Taboo," a review of Sigmund Freud's Totem and Taboo, The New Republic, XV (July 20, 1918), 347-348; Francis Hackett, "Realism," a review of Arthur McDowall's Realism, A Study in Art and Thought, The New Republic, XX (November 26, 1919), Supplement, 7-8; Francis Hackett, "The Invisible Censor," The New Republic, XXI (December 3, 1919), 11-13; Francis Hackett, "The Rational Good," a review of L. T. Hobhouse's The Rational Good, The New Republic, XXVIII (November 16, 1921), 353-354.

CHAPTER VI

IN PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS: WITNESS FOR DEMOCRACY

In May, 1912, Hackett planned to attend the Democratic National Convention in Baltimore. If he could get a ticket he also intended to watch the Taft-Roosevelt fireworks at the Republican National Convention in Chicago. The publisher Mitchell Kennerley found the necessary convention ticket.¹ When Theodore Roosevelt led his followers out of the Republican party in June and boldly declared the contest for the Lord at Armageddon, a very excited Francis Hackett leaped upon a chair and yelled with the crowd. Perched in the chair at Armageddon, Hackett shouted "against monopoly, against the trusts, against the labor crushers, against Mr. Elbert Gary's two shifts." He shouted for the recall of court decisions. When the excitement waned, Hackett dropped from the chair and went to watch two intent young men tempt fate in a flying machine. They died that day.²

¹ Francis Hackett to Ben Huebsch, stamped received on May 23, 1912, in Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 12, Folder 1907-1920; Francis Hackett to Ben Huebsch, June 13, 1912, in Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers.

² Hackett, I Chose Denmark, 79-84.

Havoc in the Orchard

Why was a man characteristically quiet in conduct, judicious in intellectual concerns, and individualistic in outlook standing on a chair and yelling with a multitude? Hackett's life until 1909 had included a series of personal revolts. His tendency to revolt was by 1912 excited and encouraged by the emancipatory literature he had read and reviewed, by his experiences in America,³ and by the opportunity and responsibility that editorship of the FLR offered. Floyd Dell, Hackett's assistant in this new challenge, discovered that Hackett was doing something very unusual in America; Hackett applied "social ideas" to his analysis of "aesthetic products." More, his attitude was "distinctly sociological, and represented an extreme liberalism...." Hackett early announced that books reviewed in the FLR would be examined not only for their art, but also for their ideas and their relation to American democratic life. Literature required a political and social as well as aesthetic consideration.⁴

³Hackett, I Chose Denmark, 100.

⁴Dell, Homecoming, 194-195; Editorial, "The Publishers" (April 30, 1909), 4; Dell, Homecoming, 189. Hackett clearly made this his position in his reviews and in his private letter to John Galsworthy, [c. March, 1909], Marrot, Galsworthy, 237-238. See, in particular, Editorial, "Novel or Tract" (July 1, 1910), 4; Editorial, "The Harvard Classics" (April 22, 1910), 4; Editorial, "The Dial--1880-1910" (April 22, 1910), 4. Significantly, Hackett and Dell did not go far enough in this direction to satisfy George Cram Cook. Cook, who wanted socialist reviews, felt that Hackett and Dell did not attack the Lake Shore crowd. He was irritated, he said, by those who proudly confessed that

Hackett climbed upon that chair because he wanted to battle "the present commercial tyranny." Modern business was a "tragic farce" wed to the "vulgarity of plutocrats, the fatuity of competition, the idiocy of modern Jew-aggressiveness." All "trades" exploited, and the nation would remain "crass and contemptuous" while it lived in this "province of commercialism." The "filthy cynicism and cruelty of the commercial epoch" threatened in time to destroy the mind and soul of Americans. The nation's cherished materialists and practicalists had wrought not spotless prosperity but an ugly industrial situation, pleasureless labor, and wretched basements in the Loop as well as cars, billboards, and pollution.⁵

The destructive effects of commercialism were dissimilarly manifest in all classes in America. The lower class, enslaved by the bourgeoisie, worked for poor pay

they had no solutions to America's social ills. His letters to Dell from Davenport harped on the FLR's moderation and failure to agree completely with socialist solutions. See George Cram Cook to Floyd Dell, August 26, 1909, [c. August, 1910], [c. November, 1910], in Floyd Dell Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois), Incoming.

⁵Editorial, "Sterile Culture" (July 22, 1910), 4; Francis Hackett, "A Choice of Evils," a review of H. G. Wells' The New Machiavelli (January 20, 1911), 1; Editorial, "American Criticism" (January 20, 1911), 4; Editorial, "Provincialism" (February 24, 1911), 4; Francis Hackett, "The Family," a review of G. K. Chesterton's What's Wrong With the World (September 23, 1910), 1; Editorial, "Ideas on America" (November 19, 1909), 4; Editorial, "The Tired Businessman" (December 10, 1909), 6. Hackett's phrase, "Jew-aggressiveness," was not anti-Semitic in intention. Wells, Hackett noted, dismissed Chicago as an "amazing lapse from civilization."

under wretched conditions. Most Americans were inarticulate "failures" bitterly struggling through life. The "mass of the people" was "enslaved by commercialism...as successes or as failures." Compelled by commercialism the bourgeoisie strained for economic security, striving anxiously always to do only what was legal, orthodox, and respectable, and to provide socially acceptable indulgence for themselves and their children. In this limited pursuit they endured such investment of will and suppression of self, demanded so much of the people they controlled, that the practicalist-bourgeois experience had been elevated into a lofty moral code. The "well-off in America," less captive of the code, were nevertheless captured by the commercialist dynamic. They paid "lip service to 'ideals,'" but were in practice opportunistic, short-sighted worshippers of the dietary success. They sacrificed the "interior life" to the external, and as captives of materialism weighed facts without regard for their emotional significance. Atrophied and calculating, the well-off decided matters "almost solely in the light of worldly advantage."⁶

Hackett was much less interested in a class interpretation of America than in demonstrating the grave impact

⁶ Francis Hackett, "The Mediocre," a review of Richard Whiting's Little People (April 9, 1909), 1; Francis Hackett, "The Golden Image," a review of Robert Herrick's A Life for a Life (June 3, 1910), 1; Francis Hackett, "The Predatory Male," a review of Price Collier's The West in the East (June 2, 1911), 1.

of commercialism and unrelieved materialism on the total American society. The basic and general effect of competitive commercialism was the damage it did to the quality of American life, especially in its denial of community. Commercial America rewarded destructive behavior and elevated the "golden image of Property."⁷

The social results were disastrous. In the Halstead Street area of Chicago people suffered the unjust, cruel "disease of poverty." In "social conditions that technically defy any satisfactory application of brotherhood," in a "diseased and squalid tenement district," Hackett cried, there struggled the "wounded of competition." The disaster was not merely material. The "competitive disease" crushed the finer attributes of children before they became men. Hackett denied that slum-bred lives were completely determined in result, for there was beauty and variety even in the slums, but the people there were both impoverished and inarticulate. Poverty crippled. It generally restricted manhood and eroded morals. In Chicago, moreover, that great "uncomposed community," commercialism bred a materialism which prized youth not for its

⁷Men lied for money, women sold their flesh for it, and tiny children worked long hours for a few pennies. Adult and child were either exploiter or the exploited. Francis Hackett, "The Golden Image," a review of Robert Herrick's A Life for a Life (June 3, 1910), 1. An interesting comparison can be made between much of Hackett's social comment in the years 1909 to 1911 and Paul Goodman's Growing Up Absurd (1960). The degree to which there are similarities stirs sad thoughts about the efficacy of twentieth-century reform movements.

innocence, beauty, or gaiety, but only for its labor power. Chicago and other cities did not respond to the needs of youth. Judge Ben Lindsey of the Denver juvenile court, in demonstrating the social effect of corporate corruption, revealed the manner in which America's "adoration of property" had "biased the courts that were stamping children into the filth of our jails...."⁸

One of Hackett's essential perceptions was that commercialism's crippling action operated through the methods of success as readily as through the mechanics of poverty. While commercialism threatened to wither the mind and the soul, its materialism failed to satisfy the ultimate desires of human nature. It produced, for example, that enemy of both community and culture, the "tired businessman," who, in the midst of noisy efficiency, regarded as impractical these extensions of self and soul which art made possible. Active Americans regarded life as "one damn thing after another," unaware of the qualitative differences between experiences. Americans put their energies into "the modern warfare, the warfare of business" which

⁸ Francis Hackett, "Hull House," a review of Jane Addams' Twenty Years at Hull House (November 25, 1910), 1; Francis Hackett, "The Mediocre," a review of Richard Whiteing's Little People (April 9, 1909), 1; Francis Hackett, "The Novel of the Week," a review of I. Querido's Toil of Men (October 22, 1909), 1; Editorial, "The Spirit of Youth" (February 4, 1910), 4; [Francis Hackett?], "'The Spirit of Youth in the City Streets,'" a review of Jane Addams' The Spirit of Youth in the City Streets (December 24, 1909), 1; Francis Hackett, "Government by Corporation," a review of Judge Ben B. Lindsey and Harvey J. O'Higgins, The Beast (April 29, 1910), 1.

was "conducted on lines inimical to democracy." Molding their environment, accentuating their ego, Americans invested the national energy in "big material activities" rather than a national, cultural, democratic realization.⁹

Ironically the hero of that "modern warfare," the businessman, had become a cultural hero, and as such was one of the main defences of the commercial system. Among those heroes were Cecil Rhodes, Andrew Carnegie, John D.

⁹Editorial, "Ideas on America" (November 19, 1909), 4; Francis Hackett, "His Wanderjahr," a review of Harry A. Franck's A Vagabond Journey Around the World (March 25, 1910), 1; Editorial, "The Great American Novel" (May 6, 1910), 4. Hackett warned that democracy did not survive where the upperclass hated the bottom. Venality corrupted all of society. Child labor was used in Southern cotton gins, politicians accepted railroad bribes, the state militia in California sold out to the mine owners, Rockefeller and the Sugar Trust crushed and cheated their opponents. Americans, especially, needed to learn to hate oppression of the helpless and impoverishment of sympathy. A "city like Chicago, which is the spawn of commercialism," said Hackett, "is doomed to be provincial and sentimental as long as the majority of its citizens are slaves. Every valueless action...undertaken for money's sake is sordid...." John Masefield's character, Rhoda, was superficially pleasant and basically hollow. "Selfishness, perhaps, pretentiousness," said Hackett, "tactlessness, want of all nobleness, want of everything except the deadness of the deeply vulgar. She was the American spirit cropping out in another place." The businessman was a "specialist," he declared, "and the specialist had no time for too-broad reflection. He can only pursue one line of action [✓] and theories that do not contribute to his line of action seem needless and futile." Francis Hackett, "Fraternity," a review of John Galsworthy's Fraternity (March 5, 1909), 1; Francis Hackett, "Our Manners and Morals," a review of James Edward Rogers' The American Newspaper (September 17, 1909), 1; Francis Hackett, "The Novel of the Week," a review of I. Querido's Toil of Men (October 22, 1909), 1; Francis Hackett, "John Masefield," a review of John Masefield's The Tragedy of Nan, and Other Plays and The Street of Today, a Novel (June 16, 1911), 1; Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Spring Books" (March 18, 1911), 1.

Rockefeller and James J. Hill. Hackett detested the "greasy sophistries of Andrew Carnegie, the claptrap of Rockefeller, the piratical blasphemy of old Vanderbilt, or the whine of [George] Baer." Hackett hotly rejected the central assumption that James J. Hill, materialists, and naturalists made, an assumption basic in the transformation of the commercialist hero into the folk hero, the assumption that technological evolution determined cultural evolution.¹⁰ Hackett denied that Rhodes and his American counterparts were legitimate cultural heroes. They subverted democracy. They were "political corruptionists" who did not allow ideals to interfere with practicality. They were, in fact, merely "specialists on the materialistic side."¹¹

¹⁰ Francis Hackett, "The Golden Image," a review of Robert Herrick's A Life for a Life (June 3, 1910), 1. James J. Hill had at least tried to "account for his stewardship," but he did it "from the purely capitalist standpoint." Hill argued against the "uprising of the people," raising the spectre of popular action's presumed damage to ancient Rome. He held that labor unions would wreck the economy, maintained that capital was responsible for the nation's progress, and believed that the evolution of transportation was the history of civilization. Francis Hackett, "Mr. Hill's Ideas," a review of James J. Hill's Highways of Progress (July 1, 1910), 1. "Everyone," Hackett hotly exclaimed in another connection, "tells us that we survive only by adapting ourselves to our environment." Editorial, "Tolstoy" (November 25, 1910), 4.

¹¹ Rhodes and his counterparts were "Adventurers," a word that for some reason puzzling to Hackett did not carry the same stigma as its female equivalent. American monopolists and imperialists could not operate as openly or as efficiently as Rhodes had in South Africa. Unlike J. P. Morgan, Rhodes in South Africa had been able to control the equivalent of the United States Senate "from the inside." Francis Hackett, "The Adventurer," a review of Sir Lewis Michell's The Life and Times of The Right Honorable Cecil John Rhodes, 1853-1902 (February 10, 1911), 1.

Francis Hackett believed that the irresponsible commercial system was buttressed and protected not only by a misplaced popular admiration of business leaders, but also by the mutual advantage the system's participants received. The "best people" of America, he said, hated Judge Ben Lindsey because he criticized "the established political order in America." But, Hackett reminded his readers, "our best people all over the United States are for the most part beneficiaries of corruption." Lindsey, indicting "plutocratic Colorado" and "Big Business," called for the destruction of a "system of corporate corruption that upholds a compact between criminals and thieves and elects the corrupt man for public service." Hackett described "an unholy alliance between criminals and big business in every American city in which the heads of public utility corporations and other captains of industry are trying to obtain special privileges to steal from the people." Officials made "unfair and undemocratic" decisions because they were mere "instruments which the corporation had brought into power." Corporations gained their power by exploiting the people who were never told the truth. Meanwhile, "the very organizations...necessary to serve the people," the two national political parties, served instead the very corporations which corrupted American life. Lindsey demonstrated to Hackett's satisfaction that the Denver plutocracy caused most of Denver's crimes. Now, Hackett said, he understood that "strange alliance" which men like Roger Sullivan and

Billy Lorimer maintained with leaders of the railroad, gas, water, electricity, stockyard, and other companies.¹² The business and political institutions of America thwarted democracy; Cecil Rhodes' system, less simple and less open, was alive in America.

The Law was another institution which protected the system in America. Property ruled the courts. Consequently, it was bootless to argue the law. Most people, exploiter and exploited alike, were "self-satisfied as long as they stay within the law," Hackett discovered, but it was "extraordinary" how everyone recognized that the law was actually "no criterion of honesty." Hackett and Robert Herrick apparently agreed that America required a law higher than that of the courts, the law of "human justice."¹³

Certain platitudes combined with the corruption of American institutions to sustain this undesirable system of competitive commerce. The much admired "honesty of enlightened selfishness" and other success sermons were preached in the Sunday newspapers to an audience "pressed hard

¹²Francis Hackett, "Government by Corporation," a review of Judge Ben B. Lindsey and Harvey J. O'Higgins' The Beast (April 29, 1910), 1. The "best people," Hackett suggested, were opposed to justice, honesty and "square dealing."

¹³Francis Hackett, "The Golden Image," a review of Robert Herrick's A Life for a Life (June 3, 1910), 1. American law protected "the established." Francis Hackett, "The Adventurer," a review of Sir Lewis Michell's The Life and Times of the Right Honorable Cecil John Rhodes, 1853-1902 (February 10, 1911), 1.

against the pricks of material discomfort and hungry for improvement." The sermons repeated the "fundamental platitudes of will and character, self-improvement and self-help." They converted the "Will to Power into the language of the Loop." Their "remorseless logic" earnestly tried to "excite in routine clerks and unthinking cash girls a fierce ambition and self-criticism." The carrot held before the clerk's nose was cash; the "philosophy" was "epicurean and Marcus Aurelius adopted to Chicago and the association of commerce." The poor clerks, desiring "power," knowing they were indeed without "self-knowledge and control," eagerly grasped at the "gospel of Will."¹⁴

By preventing real community values the platitudes went so far toward a mental denial of democracy that many Americans believed that the "critical attitude toward life" was un-American. Hackett resented all philosophies similar to that of The Imitation of Life, which dissuaded the open search for knowledge.¹⁵ While there was much one could not

¹⁴Editorial, "Money" (June 3, 1910), 4. Price Collier typically, Hackett noted, advanced the "success of pure possessiveness enveloped in the twaddle of Responsibility." Francis Hackett, "The Predatory Male," a review of Price Collier's The West in the East (June 2, 1911), 1.

¹⁵See Hackett's "modernist" view of Christianity expressed in his favorable review of G. B. Foster's Function of Religion (June 18, 1909), 1, his review of On the Tracks of Life (February 4, 1910), 1, and The Letters to His Holiness Pope Pius X, by "A Modernist" (May 20, 1910), 1. In these Hackett celebrates William James' "will to believe," and an inner-directed morality. He cheers the "modernist's" attack on Pius X's repressive Pascendi Gregis (1907).

know, Hackett admitted, there was great danger in the American male's belief that his wife and daughter, hence the public, had to be protected from the truth. Crippled by the American taboos, the average conventional citizen led a limited life and accepted the ready-made solutions to all his problems.¹⁶ Having discovered a connection between irresponsible corporation leaders, politicians, and courts, Hackett found suspect all men who purveyed the dangerous platitudes. He could now, he said, "understand the ugly facts of complacent clergymen, obedient editors, cringing college presidents."¹⁷

Hackett constantly assaulted the defences of commercialism. The "gospel of Will" was not "the best gospel."

¹⁶Editorial, "Mr. Wells' Function" (March 26, 1909), 4.

¹⁷He could now understand, he said, why the New York Evening Post, using terms overworked in constant description of the Republican Party, called Senator Nelson Aldrich "the living embodiment of that sordid and corrupt society." The "Big Businessmen of Colorado" had branded Lindsey as an "enemy of the people," in contrast with those "genial plunders who are good to their families and who are represented by party organs as being really efficient agents of prosperity." Francis Hackett, "Government by Corporation," a review of Judge B. Lindsey and Harvey J. O'Higgins' The Beast (April 29, 1910), 1. Almost all of the "base and baleful men" Hackett knew were "given to platitudes, many of them platitudes of the Decalogue." Ibsen's attack on selfishness and the reliance on the conventional wisdom seems to have been very influential on Hackett. Editorial, "Platitudes" (May 13, 1910), 4. Chesterton, somehow, did not realize that the "existing order" was perpetuated by the sentimental philosophy of the Christian bourgeois. He championed the bourgeois philosophy which "made possible the triumph of the commercialist." Francis Hackett, "The Family," a review of G. K. Chesterton's What's Wrong With the World (September 23, 1910), 1.

It erred by "centering man on himself." It admittedly drove "him onward if not upward." As a consequence the gospel developed in man his own great resources, but at the same time led him to a "twofold selfishness of means and of aim." In America this "philosophy of Power" became almost exclusively a "philosophy of material power, a philosophy of money." While there were "capitalists" who made money and used it in big and "imaginative" ways, such were "not as typical as the small and selfish kind because capitalism after the flush of achievement" became "grasping and hypocritical." To William James' distrust of the materialist bitch-goddess, Hackett had added a Veblenistic distinction between most contemporary businessmen and the folk heroes of capitalism.¹⁸ Hackett confessed that he was the idealist who put his faith in an "'honest self-developing democracy'" rather than in the "Hero."¹⁹

Hackett was so little impressed with the heroes of business and politically conservative America that he blamed them for the "deterioration" of American life. The current rancor, he said, came not from modern critics, but from the situation created by "J. P. Morgan, John D.

¹⁸Editorial, "Money" (June 3, 1910), 4. Hackett angrily rejected that "parrot phrase" which held that one cared not for money, but only for what it bought. This, said Hackett, meant "luxury which means everything but no more."

¹⁹Francis Hackett, "The Adventurer," a review of Sir Lewis Michell's The Life and Times of The Right Honorable Cecil John Rhodes, 1853-1902 (February 10, 1911), 1.

Rockefeller, Nelson Aldrich, Joseph Cannon, H. H. Rogers, Eugene Hall, [and] Chauncey Depew." Had that "generation that gave us birth been unspoiled by false doctrine and riches," if the "disease of 1860, 'the worship of self-interest'" were not yet the disease, said Hackett, criticism would indeed be irresponsible.²⁰ Those heroes and their generation had since 1860 perpetuated the "disease" of worshiping selfishness. The "passing generation," Hackett said, talked of "Character, meaning to grab and to hold tight to the world as sick."²¹

Education leaders such as Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia said that the preservation of the heritage of the American fathers was necessary. Hackett denied that this obligation existed. There was, instead, he held, an obligation to solve contemporary problems.²² Although most people simply accepted the old truths, the old truths in reality tended in time to become obstacles in the way of

²⁰ Editorial, "You Youngsters" (February 10, 1911), 4. Hackett, moreover, rejected the "old" argument that the fittest survived, and criticized the public for its brutalizing acceptance of this key point in Social Darwinism. Editorial, "Neglected Genius" (May 14, 1909), 4. How ironical, the FLR noted, that Andrew Carnegie, who had broken the Homestead unions and who was responsible for a twelve-hour day and a seven-day week, considered himself a progressive! FLR, "Magazine Critique" (March 31, 1911), 5. The paragraph referred to an article by Paul U. Kellogg.

²¹ Editorial, "You Youngsters" (February 10, 1911), 4.

²² FLR, "Magazine Critique" (October 8, 1909), 5.

progress.²³ All critics of platitudes were not merely opportunists. Most people simply believed what was convenient, accepting what the "'compact majority' of which Ibsen used to speak" held to. The irony of this was that the "history of the state is a history of rescinded popular lies," Hackett warned, and statecraft was the art of "knowing what lies to rescind." But politicians, practicing a less honorable craft, maintained that those lies not yet rescinded were true. The politician, said Hackett, "sins by platitude...."²⁴

American institutions were to Francis Hackett no more inviolate than American platitudes about character, the reverence for tradition, or deified American leaders. An

²³Francis Hackett, "Let There Be Light," a review of Allen Upward's The New Word: An Open Letter Addressed to the Swedish Academy of Stockholm on the Meaning of the Word Idealist (April 15, 1910), 1.

²⁴Editorial, "Platitude" (May 13, 1910), 4. Business boosters also sinned by platitude. "One of the cheerful fallacies of American life is the fallacy of its youth and vigor. To hear a good Chicagoan talk, you would imagine that every Chicagoan was still under thirty, a potential millionaire and a born 'busy booster.' The general effect of such opinion is harmless enough, but it belies some of the toughest facts of a community itself, and it fosters a queer impression that because Chicago is a city of recent growth it is a city of unlimited possibilities and inevitable success. Such illusions may be valuable in an advertising sense, but they do not withstand any real examination of the facts." Mouthing the myth of "this fresh young city" of Chicago, its leaders shirked their burdens of responsibility and sacrificed the people. The "vulgar boasts of business success" required a grave "price...in human happiness." As a consequence only Jane Addams and Hull House had befriended "Americans new or errant or defenceless children...." Francis Hackett "Hull House," a review of Jane Addams' Twenty Years at Hull House (November 25, 1910), 1.

institution, he warned, could serve as a "house of bondage as well as a house of order." It could destroy as well as preserve the best in man. Those who defended an institution were, Hackett believed, "nearly always its beneficiaries, ready to persecute because they are loathe to adapt." Hackett suggested that breaking a "commandment, a law, a vow, a contract" might indeed "be more virtuous" than keeping it. Laws and institutions were made by man and were imperfect. While one could not "make a gospel out of freedom" or a "creed out of revolution," Hackett believed that far "more sin" had been done in the "name of Institutions than in the name of liberty." Justifying the evil of an institution by its popularity and longevity was to "worship Demos in his basest guise."²⁵

The defences of the present commercial system--the economic and philosophic theories solidified into platitude

²⁵Francis Hackett, "The Family," a review of G. K. Chesterton's What's Wrong With the World (September 23, 1910), 1. Miltoun, the main character in John Galsworthy's The Patrician, in order to preserve authority would not fight the divorce laws for the sake of moral law. Miltoun was, Hackett said, "spiritually the problem of democracy." His God was "not of men or the desires emanating from men, but of Authority of whom he is the instrument, suitably rewarded." He did not require freedom so he had no love for freedom. Threatened by a bull in a pasture, Miltoun's autocratic mother regally solved the problem by saying that the bull should not be there. There was, Hackett hoped, as yet no difference between "Power" and "Pretension." Francis Hackett, "The Soul of a Patrician," a review of John Galsworthy's The Patrician (March 31, 1911), 1. Institutions could have virtue, but in their effort to maintain authority, they cheated. Francis Hackett, "The New Encyclopedia Britannica," a review of the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica (April 7, 1911), 1.

and conventional wisdom, the heroes of the system converted into culture heroes, the imperfect but established institutions--were all accepted by the American public. The reticent American frowned on realistic criticism and made do with sentimentalism and hypocrisy. Hackett distrusted the temperance preached to critical youth; man could not be profitably temperate until the unnatural conditions which strained him were removed. Americans, unrealistically optimistic, avoided unpleasant facts and hence were driven to panic when crises occurred. Realism could provide man the intelligence necessary to replace the drift of making-do, to avert disaster, and to avoid panic. Sentimentalism, instead, perpetuated that dangerous ignorance concerning the nature of man himself. Many people did not even realize that they were morally frustrated.²⁶ The smug, illusioned, platitudinous, "Philistine" middle class, wrongly mistrusting the "modern analytical writers", attacked the very writers who usefully discussed the less pleasant facts of "human nature" and who criticized "human institutions." The "'normal man'" did not know or direct himself.²⁷

²⁶Editorial, "Meredith's Parentage" (June 4, 1909), 4; Editorial, "'Sane Desirable Things'" (September 17, 1909), 4; Man, Hackett insisted in 1909, was "morbid" because conditions were "morbid." Editorial, "Realism" (October 22, 1909), 4; Francis Hackett, "Mr. Wells' New Book," a review of H. G. Wells' The History of Mr. Polly (April 8, 1910), 1.

²⁷Editorial, "The Maligned Modernist" (June 30, 1911), 4. Many wanted American truths which denied the "newfangled psychology, fretful and agnostic...." Francis

Hackett appears to have believed that an alteration of the American attitude toward culture and a radical reform of the cultural institutions had to precede meaningful economic, political and social reform. Many reformers and progressives, Hackett among them, especially those influenced by William James, John Dewey, or Jane Addams, were convinced that American education and other instruments which made public values and opinions required drastic alteration. As a professional journalist, Hackett had long asserted that American newspapers were venal corruptors of public opinion.²⁸ He gleefully introduced the

Hackett, "Amateur Romance," a review of Ellen Glasgow's "The Romance of a Plain Man" (May 14, 1909), 1. "Villagers (even in Chicago) generally resent the unfamiliar, and mock at it with 'native rudeness.' The demagogues would have us believe that this rudeness is in some ways justified, and that the persons who depart from customs must expect to be laughed at. The only laughter that is a corrective, however, is the laughter of understanding. The guffaw of ignorance, whether single or shared by a whole community, often betrays how malicious we can be when inexperienced." Editorial, "Long Words" (July 7, 1911), 2. When, as in England, middle class children were raised to believe that "ignorance fosters idealism," said Hackett, the result was "inglorious." Francis Hackett, "A Choice of Evils," a review of H. G. Wells' The New Machiavelli (January 20, 1911), 1. Elizabeth Bisland, one with the red-bloods who satirized Shaw, Ibsen, and Nietzsche, mocked "imagination and taste" and was typically complacent, flip-pant, and superficial. Man did not appreciate "imagination and taste" in "Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, St. Louis and other cities in jeans." Francis Hackett, "Wholesome Essays," a review of Elizabeth Bisland's At the Sign of the Hobby Horse (May 27, 1910), 1.

²⁸ Editorial, "The Crux in Journalism" (July 2, 1909), 4, and of course Hackett's articles published in 1906.

intemperate attack on American education launched by Dr. Boris Sidis, a psychotherapist who had emigrated from Russia twenty years before. Because all was not well with the world, said Sidis, the conventional optimism was very dangerous. Contemporary education only provided a civilized gloss. Child and adult were alike poisoned by blind acceptance of authority, by prejudices, and by the rote memorization of useless material. Hackett held that Americans most "sorely need education, education for the problems of life." Sidis, as a vital replacement to shop-controlled education, wanted education to awaken in the "New Child" a critical attitude.²⁹ Hackett believed that art could play a vital role; art was an instrument which helped man form those "choice ideas" which were the exact opposite to the credulous acceptance of platitude.

Writers who regarded art as a "form of power, a pervading influence to mold character and give new colors to life," would not be read by the "conscripts of a Great Central Market." But it was "in Chicago especially," Hackett said, in that "city of abounding vitality and 'brutal ugliness,' of wide service and base servitude that such an analysis of art should be heeded." In Chicago the "love of beauty" had to be propagandized, "and the possibilities of

²⁹Editorial, "Training the Child" (June 6, 1911), 4. Any educational scheme which did not consider the "true exigency of problems," the FLR had said in its attack on Nicholas Murray Butler, was both stale and unprofitable. FLR, "Magazine Critique" (October 8, 1909), 5.

its manifestations made known." George Bourne had taken the title phrase for his pertinent book, The Ascending Effort, from Ralph Waldo Emerson. Emerson had held that one could not account for the universe without discussing this supra-naturalist effort. Everyone, said Hackett, "except the materialist," agreed.³⁰

George Bourne said that art helped the individual select and form his "choice ideas," the ones he chose for himself. There was no justification for ugliness, deprivation of sympathy, and unhappiness. Hackett rejoiced that each year greater numbers of unorthodox people challenged that obstacle to reform, the belief in original sin. Choice ideas were formed when man transcended an animal concern with security. Millions of people had no choice ideas, and consequently regarded the dirt, poverty, and hunger in the streets with dull indifference. Bourne and Hackett believed that the man who formed choice ideas would be so disturbed by these obvious defects that he would become reformer. Art, a compound of sense and intellect, helped form the choice ideas prerequisite to reform.³¹ One's choice ideas, therefore,

³⁰Hackett, significantly, was fond of using the "spiral" metaphor, rather than the pendulum, to describe the progress of man and society. Francis Hackett, "Taste and Conscience," a review of George Bourne's The Ascending Effort (June 24, 1910), 1. His preference for the spiral metaphor rejected the pendulum notion that human nature was "fundamentally unchanged and unchanging...." Francis Hackett, "Wholesome Essays," a review of Elizabeth Bisland's At the Sign of the Hobby Horse (May 27, 1910), 1.

³¹The bulk of the platitudes which seemed to Hackett to prevent reform were those drawn from earlier American history, from Social Darwinism and from classical economics,

was not only personal rather than other-directed, but an idea substantiated by more than mere theoretical consideration. Reason alone could not form choice ideas. Acquiescence in the conventional public opinion, a mere concession to environment, did not substantiate a choice idea. When one's taste did not agree with the "'existent phenomena,'" Bourne said, taste found that its "'choice ideas'" were mixed with "'theoretical ideas, most of which [were] bad habits in people's heads'" rather than factually sustained. Men's minds were "'haunted by delusions'" and man believed in, and applied in theory, an extinct environment, adapted his actions to it and hence adapted himself to "'phantom necessities which our own brains have conjured up.'"³²

The myths of classical economics and perversions of the Gospel of Will were not the only cultural barriers to realization of an American democratic community. The popular attitudes concerning race and sex were also dangerously suppressive. Among the defenceless Americans (in addition to economically disfranchised urban outsiders such as the

the adherents of which were seemingly unperturbed by the emotional consideration of contemporary facts. They refused to alter the theories simply because in practice there was human hardship. Bourne and Hackett suggested that the theories should be corrected by one's senses and intellect excited by art, thus a connection was made between taste and conscience.

³²Francis Hackett, "Taste and Conscience," a review of George Bourne's The Ascending Effort (June 24, 1910), 1.

immigrant, worker and slum-dweller) were the American Indian, of whom Hackett made only brief mention, and especially the American woman and the American Negro.³³

Margaret Deland and Olive Schreiner presented two conflicting views of woman's role in America. According to Hackett, Mrs. Deland, like most Americans, misunderstood the "modern woman," considering her vain and irresponsible in shirking the duties of the home. A woman's highest role might be maternal, Hackett mused, but happiness required as much emphasis as duty. The institutionalized view of woman as the lesser half of marriage did not constitute a satisfactory human role. The present institution was associated with prudery and the protection of sexual ignorance, a denial of human instincts and aspirations. Mrs. Deland, believing that the only proper social role was acquiescence, would have, said Hackett, rejected the Declaration of Independence and the findings of Darwin. She condemned the new woman without considering the historical, economic, social, and psychological changes that

³³Hackett, like Herbert Croly, Walter Lippmann, and Walter Weyl, progressives he would soon join on the founding editorial board of the New Republic, was largely silent on the plight of agricultural Americans. He was probably more aware of their plight than the others, but his public concern with agricultural problems comes much later than 1911. He recognized that both the Negro and the immigrant raised the fear of racial deterioration. He noted the similarity of the denial of democracy (and more) to both American Indian and the Negro. Francis Hackett, "Diluted Sociology," a review of Alexander Frances' Americans: An Impression (September 3, 1909), 1.

had produced the new attitude. Hackett insisted that duty had to adjust to changing requirements of happiness; modern novelists especially had to study the new woman seriously and "scientifically."³⁴

Hackett's acceptance of Olive Schreiner's Woman and Labor was nearly as complete as his rejection of Margaret Deland's attack on the "modern" woman. Of Schreiner, Hackett said that "so immensely divergent" were modern views on sex, so complex the question of woman's "readjustment, that the obvious duty of childbearing is subordinate in this woman's philosophy." Schreiner rightly desired removal of the "social and economic disadvantages of woman as a class;" this liberation was a "woman's primal and essential duty...." Schreiner worried about the "quality" of the lives lived by women rather than the preservation and numerical increase of the "Old Stock." Women's defects resulted from the "maladjustment of woman's position;" progress required the "readjustment of the female's status in society." Science had so protracted human life that the child-bearing burden required less time from her life in this "'passive labor.'" She should not, in fact, bear beyond her power to educate. Since child-bearing was now "episodal," woman needed honorable and socially useful toil. Motherhood was an insufficient life. Modern society had assumed much of the care and training of the child. Woman, exploited, parasitic,

³⁴Editorial, "The Modern Woman" (December 17, 1909), 6.

frustrated, and restless, was now revolting against her subservient station. Woman as an economic parasite was to Schreiner the worst social menace of modern times. "It is against the industrial exploitation and the intellectual innervation of woman that she protests most eloquently," said Hackett.³⁵ Schreiner opposed the convention that woman, mate and child-bearer, could not leave the home; woman dependent would demoralize the whole race. "In no other book," Hackett believed, had the "psychology of the New Woman, so called, been more eloquently or more nobly exemplified and expounded...." Schreiner had vitally demonstrated "how the unrest of woman has come about, how industrial evolution has taken woman's right to labor from her and left her tragically frustrated."³⁶

³⁵Much of Hackett's concern with this whole question may have been excited by the family discrimination against his own mother, especially as her life so contrasted with that of Jane Addams.

³⁶"By such interpretations of life are we given to see its highest duties, and by such revelation's of a woman's soul is the advance of civilization made known." Francis Hackett, "The Functions of Woman," a review of Olive Schreiner's Woman and Labor (April 14, 1911), 1. Hackett's musings on the different, not inferior, psychology of women and their relation to "predatory males" can be traced in Francis Hackett, "The Enigma of Woman," a review of E. M. Forster's Howards End (February 3, 1911), 1, as well as Hackett's reviews of books by Olive Schreiner and Ellen Key. He privately suggested, incidentally, that men and women were psychologically different. Hackett to Ben Huebsch, May 27, 1911, Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 12, Folder 1907-1920.

Most American women, Hackett believed, were not superficial, but the American male, ignoring her more subtle virtues, appreciated only her virtues as cow, peacock, and rabbit. Her imagination denied nourishment, the American woman could only languish, lead a vicarious existence, or submit to repression.³⁷ David Graham Phillips' popular view of the American woman held dangerous implications for American life. "If the American woman's refinement is false," Hackett said, "her desire for refinement is not any the less real." If she wanted something above the "'gospel of work,' it is because man lives not by work alone, but by play and love as well." The practical American criticized her as "culturene," but his own "slavish acceptance of commercialism" created her misguided grasp for cultural significance. Phillips wanted her to be nothing more than the busy housewife, even the busiest of whom remained to Phillips a parasite, and he told that busy woman to work harder and spend less. Hackett believed that this attitude constituted the "fundamental misunderstanding." The "'gospel of work' is money-making," he said, "in

³⁷ Francis Hackett, "Wholesome Essays," a review of Elizabeth Bisland's At the Sign of the Hobby Horse (May 27, 1910), 1. Hackett traced the debate on whether the existing family system should be perpetuated in: "The Family," a review of G. K. Chesterton's What's Wrong With the World (September 23, 1910), 1; and Editorial, "The Machiavellian" (February 3, 1911), 4. Chesterton defended the family system and Wells attacked it. Hackett accused Chesterton of wanting to prevent women from gaining the economic independence they most needed.

this limited view. And the obligations of American life are regarded as fixedly commercial."³⁸

The hot issue of sex, perhaps more than the question of commerce, made difficult a modern solution to the problems of the "New Woman" and the "old family." Olive Schreiner had insisted that economic emancipation was necessary to the salvation of modern woman. Ellen Key said that woman had to be sensually liberated. Hackett called for the economic, social, political, and sexual emancipation of the American woman. Ellen Key's Love and Marriage, he held, would affect the "prejudiced" no more than spring could "affect a dead tree." Key praised love, not the institution of marriage. Love to her was the "moral ground of sexual relations." The institution of monogamy created its complement, she said, the institution of adultery. Key hated the word "duty" when it meant loveless and meaningless restriction. She believed that "'the meaning of life is its development through individuals toward higher and higher forms of life for the whole race.'" Consequently, said a happy Hackett, Ellen Key accepted man and woman as they were, "body and soul." The usual Christian, Hackett added, believed that "free love" was just "erotic selfishness," that marriage was but cold duty and sacrifice, that free love was an orgy proposed by badly clothed folk in

³⁸Editorial, "Sentimentalists" (July 14, 1911), 2.

badly printed literature. Ellen Key believed that life was enhanced by love, not "promiscuous liasons." She emphasized not duty but the "rights" of a fresh morality, sunlight, and health; man had to revolt against wrongs, the things that made one unhappy and unhealthy. Ellen Key and Hackett assumed that man was happiest and most moral when doing what he naturally and sincerely desired.³⁹

Did not this dangerous assumption threaten the very society? It was no more dangerous, Hackett replied, than the conservative assumption that natural desires had to be suppressed, that human nature was untrustworthy and should be supervised. Ellen Key argued for "free divorce" because the present marriage system cheapened sexual habits, killed souls, and grossly infringed on liberty. Honest adult experience, said Hackett, substantiated Ellen Key. The existing system put a premium on selfishness, but Key did not encourage people who wanted love without consequences. She recommended that a woman could become a mother who could not be a wife. Such a woman, Hackett said, would be crucified in Chicago as "'oversexed,'" and cast out, unless she were rich or married for but one week. A brief marriage somehow converted what was otherwise lust and shame into respectability. Considering the risks, Ellen Key yet told women to live their lives their own way. She agreed with

³⁹Francis Hackett, "Love and Morals," a review of Ellen Key's Love and Marriage (April 21, 1911), 1.

Olive Schreiner that a woman needed for herself personal not family identity, but Ellen Key did not particularly want a woman to work in the commercial world. Key said that woman needed to be happy and individualistic. They had to have love, and had to recognize that they had erotic senses. Society had to learn to sympathize with love. Hackett agreed.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Francis Hackett, "Love and Morals," a review of Ellen Key's Love and Marriage (April 21, 1911), 1. Hackett seems to have also agreed that monogamy created a social institution in secret crime. He linked both Olive Schreiner and Ellen Key with Jane Addams. Hackett keenly appreciated Ellen Key's assertion that sex was neither duty nor dirty, but good fun.

For Hackett's interest in the new literature on sex, see, for example, his interest in August Forel's investigations. Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Spring Books" (March 18, 1910), 1, and Francis Hackett, "The First Factors," a review of C. W. Saleeby's Parenthood and Race Culture, an Outline of Eugenics (October 15, 1909), 1. Even the nicest people were sexual, the FLR maintained, criticizing Jesse Lynch Williams for leaving sex out of his novel, The Married Life of the Frederick Carrolls (December 30, 1910), 1. E. Temple Thurston's Sally Bishop, A Romance (February 25, 1910), 1, Hackett said, should convince "one anew that society has arranged an extraordinary penal system for the lovers who shirk child bearing and its nursery marriage...."

At this time, of course, many readers became interested in many new books on sexual matters. Mollie Cook, for example, was out in Davenport busy reading Havelock Ellis and Kraft-Ebbing, while "Jig" read Lester Frank Ward's Pure Sociology. Mollie Cook to Floyd Dell [c. Spring 1909], Floyd Dell Papers, (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois), Incoming. The FLR admired Havelock Ellis' writings on peace, on women, on literature, on the "New Spirit," and regarded his studies in the "psychology of sex" as much more "scientific" than the "slovenly writing and frequent stupidity of men like Kraft-Ebbing." FLR, "Magazine Critique" (June 2, 1911), 2. An interesting insight into the issue of women and sex, as well as the older and newer attitudes regarding these matters, can be traced in Robert Herrick's troubles with the readers and reviewers of his novel, Together, and especially in William Dean Howell's concern. See the Herrick Papers (University of Chicago,

G. K. Chesterton sanctioned, in effect, the American suppression of all realistic discussion of sex. Whitman and Blake, who associated sex with love, were called obscene. Meanwhile the real world, said Hackett, "sniggers and sneers,...stones the adultress,...reads smutty weeklies and spends millions a year on 'leg shows.'" The "usual vulgarian" linked sex with lust. Blake, a far better psychologist than Chesterton, Hackett said, had preferred "substitution" to "inhibition." Hackett admitted that sex could indeed be misused; "its very potency makes its misuse the easier, its direction the harder." Sex was not, however, dirty or disgusting, and honest talk about it need not offend. Chesterton thought the decent thing to do was to be silent, leaving, Hackett said unhappily, "initiation into that reality to whatever initiator accident or prurience brings along." Consequently, instead of Blake and Whitman's "sex idealism," a crass view of sex prevailed among the "common people." The product of silence and snigger was ignorance. The psychological cost was very high, but Hackett chose a more direct illustration of repression's fruit. Venereal disease, he pointed out, was not limited to the profligate, but communicated by him to the innocent. Ignorance allowed the disease to spread.⁴¹

Chicago, Illinois). See, for example, pages 90 et. passim, and p. 64 of "Myself" for the hostile reaction which considers Together an immoral attack on marriage. The Herriock story is also discussed in Christopher Lasch's very valuable chapter, "Woman as Alien" in The New Radicalism in America, pp. 38-68.

⁴¹The FLR noted that Felix Adler and G. Stanley Hall were among those who had organized the American Society of

Francis Hackett, like many other progressives, in the attempt to improve the quality of American life, pondered the questions of heredity, race, and eugenics as well as environmental factors. By 1910, Richard Dugdale's The Jukes, entering its fourth edition, had been very influential. It raised, Hackett knew, complex questions concerning the relationship of heredity and environment.⁴² Hackett also knew that among men who wanted to reform the world were those establishing the "science" of eugenics. They wanted to improve the breed of men by guiding the production of human beings. Eugenicists, he noted, did not agree on how this should be done.⁴³

Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis. The FLR added that Wild Oats, a novel by Hackett's and Huebsch's friend James Oppenheim, dealt with the problem of venereal disease. Wild Oats criticized those who suppressed discussion of the disease. Judge Lindsey had urged all teachers and parents to read it. FLR, "Literary Small Talk" (July 8, 1910), 7; (September 23, 1910), 7.

⁴²FLR, "Literary Small Talk" (September 9, 1910), 7.

⁴³Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 7, 1910), 1. If this recognition implied a certain healthy skepticism about eugenicism as a panacea, Hackett also chastised G. K. Chesterton for his abrupt denial of potential improvement of man through science. Although Chesterton had good ideas on education, he wrongly assumed that because little was known about heredity that little could be known, and that since the doctrine was cold it should not be believed anyway. Hackett described this as dangerous sentimentalism. Unlike Chesterton, he was not so ready to assume that the scientist who wanted to "prevent degenerates from having children" was a "monster because in one case out of ten the child of a degenerate may be normal. Surely," Hackett continued, "the warm-blooded man, the literally magnanimous man, in this instance, is the scientist who wants to spare a community the waste and shame of multiplied degenerates." Francis Hackett, "The Family," a review of G. K. Chesterton's What's Wrong With the World (September 23, 1910), 1.

Hackett's review of C. W. Saleeby's Parenthood and Race Culture, an Outline of Eugenics urged attention to the question of who should have children, but by no means committed Hackett to a particular racial theory. Saleeby, he observed, agreed with Francis Galton that acquired characteristics were not transmitted. Saleeby, Hackett believed, did correctly fear the transmission of disease, alcoholism, lead poisoning, and syphilis. Basically, however, distrusting a man with a panacea, Hackett realized how tenuous were the eugenic theories of Saleeby or any one else, and yet how silly it would be to ignore them. Culture, at any rate, was not transmitted biologically.⁴⁴

The ultimate test of one's attitude toward racism is one's attitude toward "racial" minorities. Hackett, as we have seen, joined with Jane Addams in advancing cultural pluralism as the proper attitude toward immigrants. Although the hasty reader might be at first somewhat puzzled

⁴⁴ Francis Hackett, "The First Factors," a review of C. W. Saleeby's Parenthood and Race Culture, an Outline of Eugenics (October 15, 1909), 1. Saleeby, a man with a panacea, was untroubled by any of the economic or political questions which affected his theory, said Hackett; this was the way "the disease panacea affects the intelligence." But eugenics was not mere prejudice, Hackett argued. Saleeby, moreover, had no intention of killing syphilitic babies; he wanted the state to prohibit debilitating procreation but not cultivate or force selection. Although critics countered that nature selected better than eugenicists could, Hackett suggested that this might be only argument from inertia. Saleeby's theories, certainly not accepted by all scientists, were nevertheless important and required consideration. Culture, however, was transmitted through language and art, not through the blood, and Hackett gave evidence that the educational, environmental process was vastly important, but did not negate attention to eugenicism.

by Hackett's review of William Archer's Through Afro-America, Hackett expressed in the conservative Post in business Chicago opinions regarding the Negro considerably in advance of most progressives. Floyd Dell, describing the differences Hackett's radicalism created with the Post's more cautious management, referred especially to Hackett's outspoken criticism of discrimination against the Negro. On a visit to the New York publishers, said Dell, Hackett mailed a review to Chicago "in which he argued with some heat against race prejudice against the Negro, and, in one paragraph, against the current shocked attitude about 'miscegenation.'" Dell, to the managing editor's delight, deleted Hackett's offending statement before the paper went to press. "Hackett," Dell added, "was not so much pleased when he returned," but Dell told him that he should not count on Dell pulling Hackett's "chestnuts out of the fire...in his absence."⁴⁵ While all this may well be true, the fact is that Hackett advocated miscegenation on more than one occasion in the pages of the FLR.

Among his objections to Nicholas Worth's The Southern, Hackett deeply regretted that it was not a novel about

⁴⁵Dell, Homecoming, 191. The Homecoming MSS, Floyd Dell Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois), 349, stated the Hackett offence more strongly: Hackett "argued with some heat on behalf of miscegenation...." Hackett was probably as angry with Dell's comments on his return as he was about Dell's initial action of censorship. As Dell's letters to me indicate, he and Hackett did not have a really cordial relationship.

the Negro by a Negro. Hackett skillfully attacked Uncle Tom literature; the Negro, he recognized, was yet judged in behalf of a foreign civilization. The Negro's own view of his fate in the democracy had to be presented. Hackett, perhaps with ironic, deliberate misunderstanding, warned that there must not be many Negro idealists or there would be more Negro unrest. America needed Negroes of genius who would not forgive the omission of human fraternity from race relations. There were "no 'rights'", Hackett insisted, operating in "the face of race prejudice." He realized, long decades before Ralph Ellison's The Invisible Man appeared, that an honest novel by a Negro would be "unbearably painful." "Altruism" did "not cancel the color line," a lesson that even later liberals would be slow to learn. Unlike the Bostonians, the "New South" had no notion of social equality between the races. The principle of democracy required genuine fraternity. While the South had the Negro and the North had merely the principle, the problem was but cynically solved.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Francis Hackett, "Southern Issues," a review of Nicholas Worth's The Southern (September 24, 1909), 1. Hackett's review of Archer's book indicates that Hackett was well aware of Negro idealists, for he refers to W. E. B. Dubois as one. I use Ellison's novel only as an example. Hackett's attack on the white-authored stereotypes in this review is surprisingly modern. "We are accustomed to dialect stories, with their ready-made facetiousness; and to planter stories, with an indulgent, fatherly account of the good ol nigger mammy, the rascally boy who done steal chickens and the yellow preacher with his patter about brothers in Israel and his desire to rest in the bosom of the Lawd. There have been whites to sympathize with the sunny lazy, laughing race that is perpetually judged, without being

J. B. Johnson, a reader, answered Hackett's review with a defence of race prejudice. Hackett replied that "if 'all men were created equal' the status of the Negro" had to be "unsatisfactory" to the "true democrat." Americans, he said, had to remedy rather than accept the Negro's inferiority. Johnson said it could not be remedied. Hackett said that racial inferiority was a lie, and pointed to the real achievements Negro leaders had made. If Johnson's "modification of the Declaration of Independence" was asserted, he said, then Negro manhood had to assert itself "and the will to be powerful may be excited in a race that needs above everything to fight for itself." Hackett said that racially mixed marriages were desirable. Why, he asked, preserve the white color? He wanted to see all possible associations made with the Negro. The Negro was in fact "entitled to every kind and degree of intercourse." The thing to remember "about the democratic faith, with its paradoxes of strong and weak," Hackett significantly said, was that it "could shape men to its ends, be they Negroes or be they whites."⁴⁷

Although Hackett denied that the Negro was racially inferior, and he believed that democracy could modify racial

consulted, by an utterly foreign standard of civilization. But one really longs to share...the Negro's own vision of his fate in a state of democracy." Hackett subtly called for intermarriage.

⁴⁷Editorial, "A Plea for Race Prejudice" (October 8, 1909), 4. See also J. B. Johnson's letter to the editors, p. 7. Hackett connected the changing role of women with the need to change that of the Negro.

differences, he may also have believed that there were some differences racial rather than environmental in origin. If so, and here his mind took another turn unusual in his time, then all the more reason for miscegenation. Even if one granted that, as William Archer said, the Negro had "innate civic deficiencies," then, Hackett argued, one could still travel with Lincoln. Lincoln had believed that the Negro was inferior to the white, Hackett granted, but Lincoln had also believed that the Negro deserved full equality and fraternity, a full share in the liberties of the Declaration of Independence. Lincoln had not believed in discrimination. Archer wanted to send the Negro to a separate state in lower California. If the Negro and the white were divorced, said Hackett, it had to be a "voluntary divorce." Archer's plan for a Negro reservation with Home Rule was, however, just "white selfishness." It denied "the brotherhood of man." Some anthropologists said the mulatto was a retrograde, but Hackett denied that amalgamation of the races would impair the white race. If the races did not "amalgamate" or "compromise," Hackett asked, what was "going to happen to the democracy?"⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Francis Hackett, "The Negro," a review of William Archer's Through Afro-America: An English Reading of the Race Problem (May 13, 1910), 1. Archer clashed with H. G. Wells' estimation of the race problem in America and, unlike Wells, confessed to a "race prejudice." Practically speaking, Archer, said Hackett, was right in his assertion that the fact of white racism had to be considered in any solution to the problem. "The white idealist like H. G. Wells, and the black idealist like Dubois" would "scarcely be willing to accept" Archer's "hypotheses." This review

Hackett's reaction to that celebrant of the Ku Klux Klan, Thomas Dixon, was important. In January, 1911, the FLR declared that Dixon's The Root of Evil was not as bad as his previous novels because this one was only crude, vulgar, and flamboyant.⁴⁹ Millions read Dixon's The Clansman, which had appeared in 1905 and portrayed the Negro as violent, lustful, and in all ways immoral. A decade later, in 1915, David W. Griffith made the novel into a movie which was excellent in craft but faithful to Dixon's racism in its content. After trying and failing to get the mayor of New York to prevent the movie's public showing, the NAACP mailed copies of Francis Hackett's angry review of Birth of a Nation to hundreds of newspapers, "marking," the historian Thomas Cripps has said, "the first time either side used a critic's esthetic standards."⁵⁰ Five years before, Hackett had declared that "race prejudice in itself" was "ignoble and hateful" and "mean in its operations."⁵¹

is, however, somewhat confusing in an attempt to assess Hackett's attitude toward the question of "racial inferiority."

⁴⁹FLR (January 27, 1911), 2.

⁵⁰Thomas R. Cripps, "The Reaction of the Negro to the Motion Picture Birth of a Nation," Historian, XXV (May, 1963), 344-362. Hackett's review appeared in the New Republic. The movie did not disturb Woodrow Wilson, but it seriously agitated Hackett, Frederick C. Howe, Jane Addams, and Lillian Wald, among others, who tried to prevent its exhibition.

⁵¹Francis Hackett, "The Tragedy of Color," a review of Edward Sheldon's The "Nigger" (September 16, 1910), 1.

While Hackett did not share that apparent muckrake convention that mere exposure provided for reform, he believed that since William Blake some English writers had helped form the necessary choice ideas, the "deepening message from what Jane Addams has called 'broken humanity'...." That art, the burden of Hackett's reviews demonstrated, had indicted the theories and intellectual "bad habits" which falsified the actual environment and which discounted the awful consequences of the system. Russian writers, aided by the "clear voice of Emerson and ...Mazzini," had helped the English. All countries had, of course, produced the "counterthrust of the imperialist..., the dry dogma of the executive man," but at present most of the "important English novelists" expressed "their clear socialistic sympathy." They attacked the "doctrines of survival by which the men who conquer reassure themselves about the men who have suffered." Convinced that the world was replete with "unnecessary pain," Hackett said, they cried for new institutions that recognized the "humanity" of their "servants," institutions that would "further 'the pursuit of happiness.'" ⁵² Man now had "collectively to control and restrain the individual man." "Public opin-

⁵²Francis Hackett, "Our Rules of Thumb," a review of John Galsworthy's Justice, A Tragedy in Four Acts (October 28, 1910), 1.

ion" had not prevented the "egoist from using his fierce efficiency to exploit his fellows...."⁵³

Hackett believed that, although they wrongly accepted the economic, political, intellectual, and racial tenets of the day, the "heart of the people is right." The national political parties rarely told them the truth, however, and nothing was "resented so much as too stringent an application of the democratic idea...." Hackett said that Americans needed to "remember two things about professional politicians. A public man should be judged by the effect of his deeds on the innocent and an ant may well take care of itself but wreck havoc in the orchard."⁵⁴ But how could the situation in the "orchard" be reconstructed? Hackett obviously had no faith in the so-called Jeffersonian tradition of an automatically progressing, unregulated society of "equal rights." Hackett obviously wanted an orchard reconstructed in both democratic and "collective" directions.

Socialism and Reform

Hackett clearly opposed Marxian determinism, a purely economic interpretation of man, violent revolution, the

⁵³Francis Hackett, "The Family," a review of G. K. Chesterton's What's Wrong With the World (September 23, 1910), 1.

⁵⁴Francis Hackett, "Government by Corporation," a review of Judge Ben B. Lindsey and Harvey J. O'Higgins' The Beast (April 29, 1910), 1. Hackett did feel that the "conventional respect of our party organizations" could not "always survive such exposure" as Lindsey provided.

accession to power of any one class, or the complete and vindictive removal of another. The problems in America, moreover, could not simply be laid at the door of the rich capitalist. Nor could they be solved by giving all power to the proletariat. Nevertheless, within the first weeks of the FLR, Hackett, in a complete front-page review, described socialist Morris Hillquit's Socialism in Theory and Practice as "explicit, dispassionate and responsible." Each day it was more imperative that Americans understand socialism because it provided the "most sustained criticism of our entire scheme of society." Hackett considered the "socialist's diagnosis of the disease" more important than its prescription for curing society. He "neither affirmed nor denied" socialism. The basic fault, socialists said, was "'private ownership of the means of production and distribution.'" Hackett recognized that Hillquit was a moderate socialist. "'Modern'" American socialists wanted to give power to the self-interested working class, but also would now support a humane, ameliorative reform movement.⁵⁵

A year later, in a review significantly entitled "Tempered Socialism," Hackett praised Edmond Kelly's

⁵⁵Francis Hackett, "What Is Socialism?" a review of Morris Hillquit's Socialism in Theory and Practice (March 19, 1909), 1. By ameliorative in this connection I mean that Hackett expected a non-revolutionary regulation by the national government within the capitalist system. While Hackett may have sympathized with the Marxist theory of "surplus value," he regarded the proletariat as itself in need of cultural and value reformation, and, of course, as being self-interested.

Twentieth Century Socialism, as clear, well-written, and non-violent. Unlike Jack London, Kelly did not mock the bourgeois ideals and morals. He did want to take power from them and give it to the proletariat, but not by violence. Hackett decided that the "root and branch Socialist" had learned the "limitations of unreason," and socialism's new promoters were therefore "temperant, considerate and patient." Kelly's temperance in defending property and the "present marriage system" forgave too much for Francis Hackett.⁵⁶

If one "so prominent as Mr. Roosevelt" held "such perverted ideas of Socialism" as Roosevelt did, Hackett decided, then Mr. Kelly had to address the "bourgeois sympathetically." That bourgeois so frequently had good intentions! If, as Hackett also believed, there was substance in the "solidarity of mankind, [or] any meaning in democracy," then the "bourgeois like Mr. Roosevelt" deserved their share in the new order. Kelly granted that the issue was now how to bring about that new order. While the socialists faithfully held to the "major idea of community ownership and the abolition of such competition as results inevitably in exploitation, unemployment, poverty and prostitution," said Hackett, the socialists had to reason with

⁵⁶Francis Hackett, "Tempered Socialism," a review of Edmond Kelly's Twentieth Century Socialism: What It Is Not; What It Is; How It May Come (June 17, 1910), 1.

the "man in the street." Hackett realized that he and Kelly and Roosevelt had to have the support of that average man. On him depended the "hope of democracy and the hope of Socialism." A "general strike" could not be "won without his sympathy, whether he be union man or clerk, or day laborer, or book reviewer." A "general election" could not be carried "without his sympathy." While he might be superficial and sentimental, he was "the Many," and as such had to be met "more than halfway" by all men convinced that they had the proper schemes for change. Otherwise he might well refuse the throne their schemes constructed for him. The average man was "largely a creature of habit," but he could be reasoned with, he could be "slowly innured to new and better habits--habits which, while costing very little more effort, give much greater happiness." This public "subconscious," Hackett added, could "eventually be so saturated with the hatred of competition in its present sense that the habit of cooperation" would become custom.⁵⁷

Many men in the street were "already persuaded to the idea of co-operation." The elections in Milwaukee demonstrated that Roosevelt had to re-focus his own "ideas about Socialism" which were "foolishly unjust to an American community like Milwaukee." Roosevelt's "own subconscious mind" was in fact stuffed with notions of "co-operation."

⁵⁷Francis Hackett, "Tempered Socialism," a review of Edmond Kelly's Twentieth Century Socialism: What It Is Not; What It Is; How It May Come (June 17, 1910), 1.

As Kelly demonstrated, Roosevelt, Morgan, and Rockefeller had actually "been the greatest practical agents of co-operation in America."⁵⁸

There were "sectarian socialists" who considered Marx the "infallible Pope" and demanded that the average man accept Marx as doctrine or reject him. The "later" Socialists, John Spargo, Hillquit, and Kelly, who tried to reconcile Marx and the average man to one another, were often as suspect to doctrinaire socialists as "modernists" were to some Catholics. Also, Hackett realized, there were Socialists and modernists who were so desirous of adapting "the system to the individual" that they adapted themselves out of socialism. Kelly was not that flabby. He had written a "confiding and ingratiating prospectus," and while he did emphasize "advantages rather than...rigor," he did not omit rigorous principle.⁵⁹

While the man on the street saw little difference between the socialist, the reformer, and the labor union leader, there were in fact great differences. Kelly said that capitalism was inherently harmful, stifling, and unnatural. If it were abolished, men everywhere would use

⁵⁸ Francis Hackett, "Tempered Socialism," a review of Edmond Kelly's Twentieth Century Socialism: What It Is Not; What It Is; How It May Come (June 17, 1910), 1.

⁵⁹ Ibid. Kelly's socialism did presuppose "an elevated and disinterested man on the street," and here the cynical observer of the "established order" disagreed with Kelly. The socialists countered, said Hackett, that socialism's revolution worked "automatically to the benefit of the Many...." Hackett did not take a stand.

their new opportunities. Kelly was "no more righteous" than Roosevelt, but, said Hackett, his criticism of Roosevelt was the "sanest and most illuminating" Hackett had read. But Roosevelt could not say those dumb things regarding Socialism if the average man did not say them. Roosevelt, said Hackett, thought and felt bourgeois. Roosevelt's statements demonstrated to Hackett, therefore, that there was "in the subconscious mind of America...an extremely strong resistance against anything which resembles Socialism," and this resistance had its ancient "origins in a million religious, economic, moralist, literary, artistic, sexual, social prejudices ordained, ratified and rewarded under the competitive system." But the current generation had traveled far, Hackett said, as one could well see when looking at "an old anarchist like Samuel W. Allerton" who had recently called for a reversion to laissez-faire. While one might "not be convinced that Socialism is either possible or desirable," Hackett concluded, Kelly had presented an "admirable view" of democracy, "one for which the realization of events" were quite "likely shaping themselves."⁶⁰ The best chance for significant democratic reform, Hackett consistently implied, was for socialist and reformer to work for reform toward a collectivized, socialized democracy.

In 1910, Hackett praised books by two people, Jane Addams, who had been and would long remain important to

⁶⁰ Francis Hackett, "Tempered Socialism," a review of Edmond Kelly's Twentieth Century Socialism: What It Is Not; What It Is; How It May Come (June 17, 1910), 1.

him, and Herbert Croly, with whom Hackett would be united in the New Republic effort from 1914 to 1922. Croly's The Promise of American Life and Jane Addams' Twenty Years at Hull House became vastly important in the history of American reform. The first is perhaps the most important of all Progressive documents and the second perhaps the singly most significant document to come out of the social settlement movement. Both authors, Hackett noted gladly, discussed national social problems not by attacking profiteers, not as an issue of class versus class, but as problems related to the American democracy. In this they differed from the socialists and merged with the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. Hackett, Croly, and Miss Addams all cherished Lincoln.⁶¹

Lincoln, Hackett remarked in his review of Twenty Years at Hull House, would probably be in 1910 not a socialist but still the "inspiring genius of that democracy ...that is the brotherhood of man." That "literal relationship" was, moreover, "the prime faith of Miss Addams." On that faith, without indicting the people of Chicago, she had practiced her "amelioration" for twenty years. That it was basically merely "amelioration," and hence not enough, Hackett and Jane Addams realized. If there were no competitive warfare, Hackett said, then she would not have had

⁶¹Francis Hackett, "Hull House," a review of Jane Addams' Twenty Years at Hull House (November 25, 1910), 1; Francis Hackett, "Where America Stands," a review of Herbert Croly's The Promise of American Life (February 18, 1910), 1.

to nurse the "wounded of competition." Publicists, and Hackett may have here indulged in some self-criticism, salved their consciences by striving for an end to that warfare, but Jane Addams was not "so philosophic." Perhaps the "whole Social Settlement interpretation" tried to do by "hand work" what socialism would do "much better," but the main Chicago "validation" of "the idea of democracy and of brotherhood" had been made by Jane Addams. The larger reform or radical schemes would be without any "democratic significance" if they did not have such a validation, Hackett declared.⁶²

Furthermore, Hackett continued, Hull House had been "eager to share or relinquish responsibility" where "its equipment" was inadequate. Jane Addams, he pointed out, realized that the settlement's best work came from investigation and through cooperation with public organizations and the state. The settlements might fail, Hackett declared, but they failed in important public services that no one provided or attempted. "And when all the major multiple activities indexed in Miss Addams' book are considered," Hackett added, "and with them weighed the sympathetic, inoubative services of political and sociological import, the whole accusation of superficiality" collapsed. Hackett, perhaps as hesitant as Jane Addams to sanction efforts to

⁶²Francis Hackett, "Hull House," a review of Jane Addams' Twenty Years at Hull House (November 25, 1910), 1.

achieve justice "outside the channels of established government," regarded Hull House as a "beacon of socialized democracy."⁶³ The man who most ably led the American to understand the requirements of that democracy was a writer hitherto unknown to Hackett, Herbert Croly.

Eric Goldman, describing in capsule the founding editors of the New Republic, noted Croly's opposition to the Jeffersonian traditions' advocacy of competitive commercialism, noted Walter Lippmann's pragmatism, and Walter Weyl's Zionism. Hackett may have been frozen for all time in Goldman's influential but inadequate description of a man "indifferent to Zionism, skeptical about pragmatism, and an ardent Jeffersonian."⁶⁴ Hackett was not in this period indifferent to the Jewish problems, although he was then silent on Zionism. Later, by the way, he wrote glowingly of Chaim Weizmann, the leader of Zionism. The reference to Hackett's attitude regarding pragmatism, whatever its exact meaning, is a misleading description of so attentive and informed a follower of William James. Goldman's final

⁶³ Francis Hackett, "Hull House," a review of Jane Addams' Twenty Years at Hull House (November 25, 1910), 1.

⁶⁴ Eric F. Goldman, Rendezvous With Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform (Rev. ed., New York: Vintage, 1956), 179. This is not to deny, of course, that there were not important differences prior to 1914 between the founding editors of the New Republic. In analyzing the differences that emerged between them after 1914, however, one might well forget the rather wide and important areas of agreement shared by Lippmann, Weyl, Croly and Hackett in the first two decades of the century. In 1912, all four men supported the "New Nationalism" of Theodore Roosevelt.

phrase, in context, implied that Hackett, as a Jeffersonian liberal, championed laissez faire and a restoration of competitive commerce rather than the "New Nationalism" of Herbert Croly and Theodore Roosevelt. Hackett was an "ardent" admirer of Jefferson's belief that society had to foster the "pursuit of happiness,"⁶⁵ of Jefferson's opposition to any tyranny over the mind, and of Jefferson's basic democratic equalitarianism. But Hackett's essays in the FLR had clearly placed him far more in the reform camp of Croly and Roosevelt than in that of Grover Cleveland or the Woodrow Wilson of the "New Freedom."

Hackett, believing that he could not judge with authority such an immersion in American political thought as

⁶⁵Hackett's often expressed concern with the phrase, the "pursuit of happiness," was not merely an expression of laissez faire. Government should foster that pursuit; it did not come automatically. It has been suggested that this affirmative use of the phrase was the one intended by Jefferson. "...The conclusion seems inescapable that the long-standing misinterpretation of 'the pursuit of happiness' should at last be corrected and the history books be rewritten to restore to the celebrated phrase its more emphatic meaning." Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., "The Lost Meaning of 'The Pursuit of Happiness,'" The William and Mary Quarterly, XXI (July, 1964), 325-327. Perhaps most consistently in this period, however, Hackett used the phrase to deny all systems and theories which seemed willing to sacrifice human welfare to the purity of the system. Later, in I Chose Denmark, 251, Francis Hackett, having fled the Nazi invasion of Denmark, said: "A civilization that is founded on the pursuit of happiness--that's the civilization for me. For that reason I distrust the absolutists." The phrase and Jefferson are discussed in Hackett's letter to Felix Frankfurter, Easter Sunday, 1943, Felix Frankfurter Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 15. Disputing George Santayana, Hackett asserted that democracy could work through institutions.

Croly demonstrated, did not sign his review of The Promise of American Life.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, his review, although perhaps unsure and certainly noncommittal regarding Croly's combination of the force of nationalism with the hopes of democracy, did agree with Croly's attack on the "Jeffersonian" reformers and Croly's particular recommendations regarding national regulation.

Croly's book, having asked that "dark...question" concerning the substance of the "national purpose," was in answer "inescapably controversial." But it also, Hackett said, stood out among all "political books" in its "breadth of vision, sanity of judgment and inspiration." Croly made, at the "least," a "consistent and legitimate analysis of current ideas and practices." The Promise of American Life was unusually "vital" and had no "rival...in its ability to educate the citizen." While Croly's style annoyed Hackett then and forever, Hackett said that almost everyone needed

⁶⁶George A. Test, "Francis Hackett: Literary Radical Without Portfolio," Midcontinent American Studies Journal, V (Fall, 1964), 24-37, p. 30. Test observes that the review was uncharacteristically "chastened in expression...." As to Hackett's authorship of the review, Test cites a letter to him from Hackett, dated June 9, 1960.

I have been helped in understanding Hackett's reading of Croly's important book by having knowledge of those passages which elicited question marks, underlinings, brackets, or comments from Hackett as he initially read the book. Much of the material which struck him could not, of course, be included in a long but necessarily limited review. The reading of Hackett's review is greatly enriched by the fact that Mr. Solomon Citron of New York has quite generously given me Hackett's signed, underscored, and somewhat annotated review copy of this volume.

to read this "keen...interpretation of democracy." Hackett could but agree with the national "sins and abuses" Croly found dominant in contemporary America, because the list was precisely that which Hackett had been describing since 1906. Croly, having introduced those "sins and abuses," then avoided the muckrake and socialist (confined to socialists, Hackett had said, prior to John Spargo, Hillquit, and Kelly) trap of merely attacking "Big Business,...the Busy Booster," the G.O.P., or the United States Senate. Croly traced the "causes" of the abusive effects, as had Hackett and Kelly, to the "popular fallacies and prejudices and principles and traditions by unhappy virtue of which these sins and abuses are enabled to be perpetuated by the common people."⁶⁷

In particular, Hackett understood and agreed with Croly's attack on the notion of "equal rights," the notion that a democratic government "should not interfere." Hackett knew that an unregulated economy did not automatically bring progress. Without qualms, Hackett followed Croly's now famous assessment of Hamilton and Jefferson and Croly's disclosure of the "inherent dangers and contradictions in traditional democracy." He agreed with Croly, the point again being one Hackett had often made, that democracy was not merely "'majority rule, or universal suffrage,'" but

⁶⁷ [Francis Hackett], "Where America Stands," a review of Herbert Croly's The Promise of American Life (February 18, 1910), 1.

rather the using of "'democratic organization for the joint benefits of individual distinction and social improvement.'" ⁶⁸

In particular, Hackett agreed with Croly's attack on the "tradition of 'optimism, fatalism and conservatism,' ...which, as an opponent of the policy of drift," Croly detested. Hackett and Croly believed that the new American society required national regulation. He agreed with Croly in detesting most reformers' desire to restore the "traditional American system...by some sort of reforming revivalism," and linked that reform as a "'higher conservatism'" and that system to the contemporary abuses. Hackett agreed with Croly's lament that William Jennings Bryan had not had the good sense to continue advocating public ownership of the railroads. He agreed that William Randolph Hearst, as a Jeffersonian, was a menace who inconsistently wanted to use the national government to crush the trusts, but opposed centralization. He noted Herbert Croly's criticism of other reformers, including Theodore Roosevelt, but also Croly's decision that Roosevelt "'...was the first political leader of the American people to identify the national principle with an idea of reform.'" Hackett evidently approved Croly's plea that the special interest groups, traditionally ignored organized industry and labor,

⁶⁸ [Francis Hackett], "Where America Stands," a review of Herbert Croly's The Promise of American Life (February 18, 1910), 1.

"good unions" and "good trusts," be preserved and used for democratic "'efficiency'" and as the best way to help the workers. They had, however, to be nationally recognized and regulated. Roosevelt, therefore, was "'the best available type of national reformer.'"⁶⁹

From March until the end of 1909, Francis Hackett made frequent and critical comments about ex-President Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt, who now spoke from a pulpit in the Outlook, betrayed an unfortunate "tendency to self-righteousness" which contrasted unfavorably with Lincoln's humble plea for a limited vision of what was right. Roosevelt said foolish things about Tolstoy, and wrongly opposed the attitudes toward peace expressed by Tolstoy, William Jennings Bryan, and Jane Addams. He too often

⁶⁹ [Francis Hackett], "Where America Stands," a review of Herbert Croly's The Promise of American Life (February 18, 1910), 1. Croly, Hackett gladly noted, suggested as two potential reforms "government ownership and the inheritance tax." While Croly's own reforms were somewhat socialistic (as Croly said), Croly had "no sympathy" with international socialism. Croly, moreover, had written in his "penetrating and winning estimate of Lincoln" a "fine ...conception...of the true democrat."

In considering the marginalia in Hackett's review copy of the book, I find that he seemed to be bothered only by Croly's elitist disregard for the popular voice (marginalia, p. 38), by his blithe assumption that English commoners had pride and confidence in the King and Lords (p. 231), by Croly's satisfaction with the idea of an English imperial tutelage in parts of Asia and Africa (p. 259), and, in general, Croly's mysticism regarding nationalism. Otherwise, Hackett bracketed such important passages as that on the Sherman Anti-Trust Act without evident qualm.

mouthed the canting philosophy of common sense and red-blood practicalism. Nevertheless, Hackett in 1909 had for "Mr. Roosevelt in politics...admiration of the whole."⁷⁰ Hackett supported Roosevelt's domestic policies but disliked his views on America's place in the world. Significantly, however, William Howard Taft, President of the United States, so little captured Hackett's attention that he was mentioned but once and then in a derogatory context.⁷¹

In 1910 and 1911, Hackett continued to criticize Roosevelt's shortcomings. Roosevelt, who indeed spoke for so many, did not champion anything unpopular, constantly uttered the popular platitudes (especially irritable "from one whom we love"), and continued to misrepresent Tolstoy, Socialism, and the "mollycoddles" in an overbearing manner. As a "Puritan," Roosevelt despised the "Hellenistic" spirit

⁷⁰Editorial, "Reticence in Fiction" (March 19, 1909), 4; Editorial, "Roosevelt on Tolstoy" (May 21, 1909), 4; Francis Hackett, "Chesterton vs. Shaw," a review of G. K. Chesterton's George Bernard Shaw (October 8, 1909), 1, in which Hackett pointed out the problem of comparing Roosevelt and Lincoln, the danger of confusing "immediacy" with "power." Francis Hackett, "John Bigelow," a review of John Bigelow's (3 vols.) Retrospections of an Active Life (December 17, 1909), 1. Hackett said that the Outlook was a moralistic voice of suppressive respectability. Editorial, "Sudermann's Frankness" (February 11, 1910), 4; Editorial, "The Marriage Shackle" (April 15, 1910), 4.

⁷¹See Hackett's reference to the American control of the Panama Canal zone: Francis Hackett, "The Pick of the New Fall Books" (October 14, 1910), 1. Hackett, in contradicting Roosevelt praised Jane Addams' Newer Ideals of Peace, editorial, "Roosevelt on Tolstoy" (May 21, 1909), 4; Editorial, "Pessimism" (October 28, 1910), 4.

which he believed had corrupted the puritan virtues in both ancient Rome and contemporary America. Discussing contemporary America in simplistic moral terms, Roosevelt preached a "strenuous gospel" which made a "slogan out of Character." He preached "self-reliance," "self-mastery," and practicalism in a popularly magnetic but intellectually irritating public philosophy. Prior to Roosevelt's famous speeches at Osawatomie and Denver in 1910, Hackett criticized Roosevelt for his failure to appreciate Lincoln and Lincoln's humanitarianism. If Roosevelt had some of that "Hellenization," Hackett thought, he might not berate the public with the "old Samuel Smile" routine concerning thrift and backbone. Roosevelt was not as "radical" as he ought to be on either the tariff or the trusts. He asked that the rich and the poor obey the law alike because they were equal before it. But Anatole France, Hackett answered, had cleverly demonstrated that the law equally forbade the poor and the rich to steal and to sleep under bridges, and in actuality merely protected the rich from the poor. While "purgatives" were useful, one could no more exist on Roosevelt's philosophy, said Hackett, than one could live on a purgative. Roosevelt was too much a "Titan" of "strength courageous and magnificent," Hackett pled in May, 1910, not to be chastized for continuing in these various idiocies.⁷²

⁷²Francis Hackett, "Views of Contemporary Novelists," a review of William Lyon Phelps' Essays on Modern Novelists (January 21, 1910), 1; Editorial, "Platitudes" (May 13,

"Since the accession of Mr. Roosevelt," Hackett said in June, 1910, "consciousness of the disparity of legality and righteousness" had so increased "until even the pirates of the passing generation...realized why they should be stripped of the honor they thought went with fortune."⁷³ Although Hackett agreed with Edmond Kelly's criticisms of Roosevelt, he insisted that Roosevelt and the "Many" he represented required a share in any new order. Such was Roosevelt's importance that his fears of socialism, uninformed and unjust as Hackett considered them, convinced Hackett that the majority's "subconscious" attitude was distrustful of socialism. But Roosevelt and his followers had also subconsciously approached "co-operation." Roosevelt had been one of its most important American agents. To describe Roosevelt's faults was not, Hackett warned, to dispose of Roosevelt.⁷⁴

1910), 4; Francis Hackett, "Butler's Masterpiece," a review of Samuel Butler's The Way of All Flesh (June 10, 1910), 1; Francis Hackett, "Excellent Stories," a review of Frank Harris' Montes, The Matador, and Other Stories (July 8, 1910), 1; Francis Hackett, "The Roosevelt Gospel," a review of Allen Warner, ed., The Real Roosevelt: His Forceful and Fearless Utterances on Various Subjects (July 15, 1910), 1; Francis Hackett, "The Enigma of Woman," a review of E. M. Forster's Howards End (February 3, 1911), 1. While we do know that Hackett had no love for an unregulated competition in commerce, it is not clear from his review, "The Roosevelt Gospel," exactly what position he wanted Roosevelt to take regarding the trusts.

⁷³Francis Hackett, "The Golden Image," a review of Robert Herrick's A Life for a Life (June 3, 1910), 1.

⁷⁴Francis Hackett, "Tempered Socialism," a review of Edmond Kelly's Twentieth Century Socialism: What It Is Not; What It Is; How It May Come (June 17, 1910), 1.

Roosevelt, the "most dynamic man in America," was impatient with injustice. His beliefs included the basic American beliefs, as well as fatuities. He displayed honesty, honor, and courage. As a national leader, Roosevelt was most concerned with the vitally important moral issues and with justice. As he himself recognized, a strong leader could not save a nation, but he could guide a strong one.⁷⁵ Whatever Roosevelt's faults, his positive American attitude regarding the "pursuit of happiness" was far more promising than philosophies which held that pursuit to be a delusion. Even when wrong, as in his confusion about the modern woman, child birth, and his theory of racial suicide, Roosevelt convinced Hackett that he was sincere, moral, and motivated by a high responsibility.⁷⁶

On August 29, 1910, Theodore Roosevelt, who had returned from abroad in mid-June, made an important speech at Denver, Colorado. He attacked the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the Knight and Lochner cases, declaring that they favored "lawless" wealth against the public

⁷⁵Francis Hackett, "The Roosevelt Gospel," a review of Allen Warner, ed., The Real Roosevelt: His Forceful and Fearless Utterances on Various Subjects (July 15, 1910), 1.

⁷⁶Editorial, "Temperament" (February 17, 1911), 4; Francis Hackett, "Simple Annals," a review of Marquerite Audoux's Marie Claire (March 3, 1911), 1; Francis Hackett, "The Functions of Woman," a review of Olive Schreiner's Woman and Labor (April 14, 1911), 1. See also, FLR (April 8, 1910), 7, where there is a distinction made between Roosevelt's use of the phrase "racial suicide" and E. A. Ross' original use, in Saints and Sinners, of the term to decry the effects of unrestricted immigration.

interest. Then on August 31, 1910, at Osawatomie, Kansas, Roosevelt made his famous "New Nationalism" speech. Again he attacked the Supreme Court for its hostility to social legislation and held that the New Nationalism regarded property as subject to control in the interest of the "public welfare." He went far toward the position of moderate socialists who Ben Huebsch published and who Hackett praised when he defined capital as the "fruit of labor." That radical statement, Roosevelt coyly explained, was Lincoln's. Roosevelt called for, among other things, a graduated income tax, a graduated inheritance tax severe in its upper reaches, the severing of corporate and political ties, the regulation (rather than destruction) of the trusts, an effective tariff commission, the reform of the national financial structure, conservation, compensation laws for workmen, and for legislation regulating the labor of women and children. It was the high point of a three-week speaking tour which brought Roosevelt into sixteen states and "the most radical speech of his career." Exuberant crowds greeted his train at the whistle stops.⁷⁷

On September 3, 1910, Francis Hackett was back at the Post after a six-weeks absence. Part of that time he had enjoyed peering off a yacht through dark sunglasses, he told Ben Huebsch. He had also spent a week on Roosevelt's Denver-bound train. Hackett, excited, intended to try to

⁷⁷William H. Harbaugh, The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt (Rev. ed., New York: Collier, 1963), 368.

talk Huebsch into another look at Roosevelt when Hackett next arrived in New York. He realized, however, that he would not be able to entice Huebsch into supporting Roosevelt.⁷⁸ In Chicago, Hackett hoped for a national election

⁷⁸Francis Hackett to Ben Huebsch, September 3, 1910, Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 12, Folder 1907-1920. An explanation of the skepticism regarding Roosevelt which Hackett expected to encounter from Huebsch may lie in the numerous references in reviews and advertisements in the FLR to Huebsch's radical and socialist publications, although most of them represent the moderate position taken by John Spargo. See in particular, perhaps, Bayswell's [Huebsch's] little story (December 23, 1910), concerning the ghosting by Gifford Pinchot and, presumably, Judson C. Welliver of Roosevelt's famed Osawatimie speech. Bayswell's columns were filled with mention of the reformers and radicals of all stripes to the left of Roosevelt.

The first notice taken of Croly's Promise of American Life came in FLR, "Literary Small Talk" (October 29, 1909), 7. In November 12, 1909 issue, Bayswell and "Literary Small Talk" noted Croly's activity in the colony at Cornish, N. H., his membership in Players, a club in New York (to which Byrne Hackett belonged), and the interest taken in Croly's discussion of the various reformers. Then the FLR, "Literary Small Talk" (September 23, 1910), 7, in a paragraph headed "The New Nationalism," commented on the connection between Roosevelt and Croly. "Theodore Roosevelt is said to be recommending very warmly 'The Promise of American Life,' by Herbert Croly. He has given Mr. Croly's book his best commendation, however, by expressing in his recent speech many of the conclusions at which Mr. Croly arrived in his analysis of the American political situation. No one would be likely to suggest that Mr. Roosevelt adopted Mr. Croly's theories of 'The New Nationalism.' The Roosevelt program was already fairly well defined before Mr. Croly came along. But it is probably that 'The Promise of American Life' gave the ex-President a strong intellectual stimulus, and it is certainly a strong endorsement of the writer that his philosophy of the present situation should in such large measure coincide with Mr. Roosevelt's." Huebsch, in contrast to this statement, as Bayswell, implied that the Osawatimie sentiments were not genuinely Roosevelt's.

victory by a genuine third party, a national Progressive Party which was not, he insisted, just a Roosevelt vehicle.⁷⁹ Since Roosevelt had spoken out for humanitarian reform and regulation of the trusts, and since Hackett had no faith in the two national parties, with no effort at all Hackett leaped upon a chair and shouted for the Bull Moose standing at Armageddon.

⁷⁹Francis Hackett to Ben Huebsch, November 11, 1912, Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 12, Folder 1907-1920. Realizing that it was hopeless, Hackett still tried to convince Huebsch that Roosevelt was a man of sincerity and principle. Hackett's progression toward Roosevelt and his original hope that Roosevelt would be nominated by the Republican party was probably something like Felix Frankfurter's, as outlined in Frankfurter's two letters to Phillip L. Miller, June 20, 1912 and July 15, 1912, Felix Frankfurter Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 27. Frankfurter, not yet personally known by Hackett, would in 1914 be a behind-the-scenes consultant and contributor to the New Republic and would then begin a friendship with Francis Hackett that lasted until the latter's death in 1962.

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND IMMIGRATION

"Mr. Francis Hackett, who has been in editorial charge of the Friday Literary Review since its inception, has severed his connection with this paper, in order to devote himself to independent literary work.

To those who have been acquainted with the Review during its two years of existence it is unnecessary to speak of the insight and taste which its editor brought to the consideration of contemporary literature, nor of the unfailing courage, vivacity and good temper with which he exercised his critical gifts.

Meanwhile this assurance is offered: that the standards for which the Review has been known in the past will be steadfastly maintained in the future."

"Announcement" (July 28, 1911), 2.

Floyd Dell recalled that Francis Hackett, harassed by the Post's conservative management, decided to quit and write a novel. It was Dell's turn, Hackett said. Dell recalled that Hackett went to New York in the fall of 1911. Dell wasted no time in bringing George Cram Cook and Lucian Cary in as associate editors. Eventually, however, the FLR ceased to be an independent section and became merely a double page within a Post issue.¹

¹Dell, Homecoming, 206-234, and Homecoming MSS, 371-406b. Dell himself soon felt harassed by an anti-modernist management and migrated to New York. Lucy Huffaker, it seems, had not been completely accurate in describing the Post as the finest place to work. Lucy Huffaker to Dell, January 26, 1909, Floyd Dell Papers (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois), Incoming. Dell, The Briary Bush, 265,

Late in 1910, Hackett had confided to his friend Ben Huebsch that he wanted to leave his job but not until he had produced another two dozen good issues in the next half-year; he would then gladly part with the Post. He had not yet worked the FLR up to a red hot point! His last issues were, indeed, strong ones. Huebsch was the first publisher to nibble at Hackett's budding novel, Hackett confessed, but Hackett was then not quite sure what he would do. He would see Huebsch in New York in February; he could, he confessed, use an advance of four hundred dollars. But, Hackett candidly added, he did not know if he did or did not have a talent for creating fiction.²

One day in 1911, Hamlin Garland had a pleasant chat with young Hackett at the Little Room. Hackett appeared "thin and worried. He told me that he had decided to leave the Post....'I am going to Wisconsin to write a novel,'" Hackett told Garland. He wanted to devote a year to matching Garland's achievement in Rose of Dutcher's Coolly. Garland discussed Hackett's decision with Henry Fuller who was

used a character called McQuish to recount briefly Hackett's resignation. Dell theorized that a pattern existed in which young journalists, cherished at the Post at first, eventually were almost forced to move on. Hackett did not attack the Post management in his autobiographical writings.

²Francis Hackett to B. W. Huebsch, December 17, 1910, Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 12, Folder 1907-1920.

"equally skeptical. 'Francis is a brilliant essayist, not a fictionist,'" Fuller asserted, and Garland concurred.³

Dell said that Hackett went to New York in the fall, but we know that in October and through the winter of 1911-1912 Hackett was in Wisconsin. Garland's diary indicated that Hackett knew he was going to Wisconsin even before he quit the Post. Where was Francis Hackett from July to October? He may have remained in Chicago, or he may have gone east to see Bryne; perhaps he accepted another magazine assignment. If he did, Hackett never admitted the fact in print. Louis Filler, however, said that from July to August, Hackett replaced Alfred Henry Lewis as editor of the dying, muckrake magazine Human Life.

Lewis' Human Life had in 1911 just contracted with Harvard University Press for the printing of the magazine which so usefully reported on reformers and muckrakers. Lewis himself was, according to Filler, an "uncertain" muckraker who had defended Richard A. Ballinger in the famous conservation controversy because he knew and liked Ballinger personally. Filler seems to assume that independence was a muckraker monopoly in journalism. One could, of course, like muckrakers, be independent, and yet be as discontented as was Hackett with muckraking. Human Life, said Louis Filler, changed hands and Lewis, who had muckraked the New

³Garland, Companions on the Trail, 456. Lucian Cary simply assumed that Hackett had resigned to produce a novel. Lucian Cary to Floyd Dell, Floyd Dell Papers, Incoming.

York police in his serialized novel, The Chief, was removed as editor. The magazine was moved to New York, and serialization of The Chief in it was halted; in "two months, despite the bright promise of the new publishers and their editor, Francis Hackett, the magazine was deserted by its subscribers and ceased to exist."⁴

It is a mystery. Did Hackett edit Human Life from July to August? The new editor was in each of the three issues identified only as Edmund Francis Hackett, and initialled his editorials as E.F.H. Francis Hackett has nowhere admitted that he was connected with this journal.⁵

⁴Louis Filler, Crusaders for American Liberalism (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1939), 365-366. Charles Forcey, Crossroads of American Liberalism, 174, accepted Filler's account of Human Life, and pointed out quite correctly that Hackett, Weyl, Croly, and Lippmann did not regret the death of unconstructive muckraking.

⁵Signe Toksvig, Hackett's widow, does not answer my letters on this or any other matter. Before his Crusaders was published in 1939, Louis Filler wrote to Francis Hackett. He did not receive a reply. Louis Filler to author, September 25, 1967. Hackett may have failed to reply, for a variety of reasons, including the fact that Adolf Hitler upset his life and changed his mailing address in the late 1930's. It could be, of course, that Hackett, if involved with Human Life at all, might not have been happy to recall what was a failure. The name Edmund Francis Hackett does not provide a clue. It does seem strange that Filler, having failed to hear, simply discussed a Francis Hackett as editor. Hackett's name was entered in the Clongowes Wood records as Francis J. Hackett, and sometimes during his early years in America he was referred to as Francis O'Brien Hackett. My request for baptismal records, sent to the church in Kilkenny, produced no reply at all. Why should a man who made something of a national reputation as Francis Hackett suddenly change his literary signature to Edmund Francis Hackett? It does not appear to be more impressive. There is, on the other hand, at the moment no factual data which chronologically prohibits this three-month activity by Hackett in Boston and New York. Dell, we recall, said that Hackett went to New York.

The files of the magazine Human Life during this E.F.H.'s editorship do not completely bear out Filler's assertion that this was anti-reform, magazine assassination.⁶ E.F.H. appears to have been a progressive, a conservationist, a man interested in woman's rights, and one interested in creating a more genuinely literary magazine than political muckrake stories and novels would allow. At first the magazine indicated that it would continue publishing Lewis' The Chief. The June issue contained an article by Edmund Francois Hackett on Frederick T. Gates, preacher and foundation organizer for John D. Rockefeller. It praised Gates' work with the University of Chicago, the Rockefeller Foundation, the General Education Board, and the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research. Gates' humanitarianism was praised, but his idolation of Rockefeller was not. The issue contained an article on "Franklin D. Roosevelt; Insurgent," and one on the English coronation. E.F.H.'s seven editorial paragraphs stressed the necessity of women voting, discussed U. S. Steel and Louis Brandeis, criticized commercial publishing, and argued in support of a New York inheritance tax and Domestic Relations courts to protect women.

In the July issue E.F.H.'s editorial paragraphs discussed the "Cunningham Claims" involving Alaskan coal lands and held, now that the lands would go to the people instead

⁶The publisher's announcements were more commercial and conservative than E.F.H.'s signed material.

of the syndicate, that Gifford Pinchot, Louis R. Glavis, and Collier's magazine were vindicated. Pinchot and Glavis should publicly be rewarded with better jobs than those they had lost during the Ballinger affair. Roosevelt's request for a decision on the management and fortification of the Panama Canal was discussed.⁷

The last issue, August, 1911, contained an ironic story of Negro "improvement," which seems to imply that Negro inferiority was social rather than racial. E.F.H.'s editorial paragraphs attacked the International Harvester Company and its monopoly and price fixing supported by the protective tariff. Theodore Roosevelt's appearance before the Stanley Committee might, E.F.H. remarked, "have satisfied the morbid appetites of 'muck-rakers' but it did no good....." These issues of Human Life were not very impressive; they were not Francis Hackett at his best, if Francis was involved.⁸

⁷Lucy Huffaker submitted an article to that issue. Officers for the magazine were E. F. Hackett, president, C. M. Harding, secretary, and G. A. Pearson, treasurer. A publisher's announcement indicated that the magazine would deal less with "personality" and more with the broad conception of human life. The Chief had been dropped, but The Boss, novelization by J. W. McConaughy of Edward Sheldon's play by that name, was to begin serialization in the September issue which never appeared.

⁸See Warden Allen Curtis' "Psychology and the 'Nigger'" John R. Robinson's "A Fighting Philanthropist: A. J. Drexel Biddle...." raised the dark issue of how much E.F.H. was satisfied with mere philanthropy. E.F.H. maintained that the basic question involved in the reciprocity treaty with Canada was whether it lowered the cost of living for the working man. The 1909 Tariff had not helped the consumer. E.F.H. rather consistently attacked William Howard Taft,

At any rate, Hackett told Garland that he was leaving the Post and going to Wisconsin to write a novel, and, whatever Hackett did during the summer months, in the fall he was in fact in Wisconsin. Meanwhile, although he would return for visits many times, Francis Hackett left Chicago as his home for the last time.⁹ He realized that one tended to confuse the "personality" of a town with that which was familiar, but Chicago did have a personality not immediately discovered by the outsider or Chicago's own genteelists.

but he did attack the "insurgents" on reciprocity. He did suggest, also, that the ICC decision on long and short hauls had been too severe on the railroads. E.F.H. welcomed the House of Lords' acceptance under pressure of the vastly significant reform bill of 1911. He criticized the hypocrisy of American parents who taught their daughters to marry for convenience. He noted that the Postal Savings Bank was at last an actuality. In short, Edmund Francis Hackett, whoever he was, was cautiously progressive, perhaps even more progressive than Alfred Henry Lewis.

⁹For the visible city which Hackett left, at least in its more attractive architectural structure, see the many volumes on Chicago's famed architectural revolution, including Carl W. Condit's The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), for instance, plate 85 on the McClurg Building and plates 169ff on Hull House. There are useful references to Chicago's intellectual currents; for example, note four, p. 97, and discussion of Hackett's Little Room brethren Irving and Allen Pond (p. 205). Wayne Andrews, Architecture in Chicago and Mid-America: A Photographic History (New York: Atheneum, 1968), indicates, among other things, that I. K. Pond helped Solon Spencer Beman design Pullman's model town on the South Side, and includes, p.88, a photograph of Robert Herrick's Chicago home. See, especially, the photographs in Arthur Siegel, ed., Chicago's Famous Buildings (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), for the buildings, up to plate 58, which made the landscape of Hackett's Chicago; some of them were part of his weekly experience.

Chicago had "size without spaciousness, opportunity without imaginativeness, action without climax, wealth without distinction," and it was "dirty, unruly and mean." But in time one discovered an "essence" to Chicago which the Hobart Chatfield-Taylors and the "New Englanders who made the town" did not see, although they should know that only twenty-five percent of the West Side was American-born. Chatfield-Taylor insisted that the spirit of Chicago was its "puritan aristocracy," but Hackett loved that Chicago which was "ugly and wild and rude" and "impuritan." The leaders whom Chatfield-Taylor glorified had led without statecraft and had brutalized the city. The aristocratic picture had to be corrected by another painted in Upton Sinclair's The Jungle, Jack London's Iron Heel, Frank Norris' The Pit, and Jane Addams' prose.

Hackett recalled the brutality of the City Council, circa 1908. He knew the jungle that the aldermen had created on the South Side, the North Side, the West Side, with "shaky tenements and black brothels and sprawling immigrant-filled industries" all paying great tribute. One evening Hackett and three of his friends had decided to see the worst and had visited "'the wickedest place in the world,'" a saloon beneath the West Side El, and the room at the rear of the saloon. It was, as the evening wore on, the customers, the human refuse, the defeated, the drunk, "the woman without a nose..." that impressed Hackett. But Hackett loved Chicago for its "freedom from caste and cant..., the cordiality...,

the access to men and life of all kinds." It was both a "scrimmage" and "an adventure, a frank and passionate creator struggling with hucksters and hogsters, a blundering friend to genius among the assassins of genius, a frontier against the Europe that meant an established order, an order of succession and a weary bread line." Chicago had "hope" despite the "stockades the puritans" had built. Men like Hobart Chatfield-Taylor were culpably silent about that Chicago which had meant the most to Hackett.¹⁰ Leaving it had probably come as no surprise. From the first he had realized that Chicago did not keep its literary lights. When he first landed in Chicago Hackett had asked about Finley Peter Dunne. "'Gone East.' And George Ade? 'Gone East.' and John Dewey? 'Gone East.' and Herbert Stone? 'Gone bluey.' And Thorstein Veblen? 'Gone West.'"¹¹

From 1906 to 1911 Wisconsin had often lured Hackett. He had vacationed at Oconomowoc, motored to Fond du Lac (in a very early auto which had four flats in the process), and gone to parties on Lake Geneva. Once he had walked forty

¹⁰Francis Hackett, "Chicago," a review of Hobart Chatfield-Taylor's Chicago, New Republic, XIII (January 26, 1918), 384-385.

¹¹Francis Hackett, "Chicago's Opportunity," New Republic, CXXXIV (June 25, 1956), 21-22. Chicago's opportunity, in the instance of Hackett's 1956 article, as he saw it, lay in Illinois' second chance, the first being Abraham Lincoln, to send a statesman to the nation's presidency. The passage in the text suggests that Hackett knew of Dewey and Veblen when Hackett had first arrived in Chicago.

Wisconsin miles, starting in the night, in twenty-four hours. He dreamed of living in the countryside and writing. He advertised in a Madison newspaper for room and board on someone's farm for ten dollars a week. Only one farmer, Cuthbert Latham at Syene, replied.

One October day Hackett walked the six miles from Madison to Syene, his "homespun trousers" collecting many burrs as he crossed the fields on that very warm day. When Latham helped Hackett remove the burrs, Hackett, struck by the farmer's kindness, "decided...to make the break and move to Wisconsin." He spent the winter of 1911-1912 on the Latham farm.

It was a rough winter, "twenty-five degrees below zero for three weeks." In the pitcher upstairs the water froze. Latham himself had come from England to his Wisconsin farm of seventy-five acres. One day, when Janet Fairbank drove out from Chicago, to Hackett the farm house suddenly seemed "to shrink."¹² Mrs. Latham was a Victorian

¹²Janet Ayer Fairbank, Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank, became chairman of the western division of the woman's finance committee of the Progressive Party. In 1919 she served as a member of the executive committee of the Democratic National Committee. She later became a Democratic National Committeewoman. She worked with Chicago hospitals, woman's rights, and the war effort during World War I. Her published books include: At Home, 1910; The Cortlands of Washington Square (novel), 1923; The Smiths (novel), 1925; Idle Hands (short stories), 1927; The Lion's Den (novel), 1930; The Bright Land (novel), 1932; Rich Man--Poor Man (novel), 1936. See Who's Who in America, 1948-1949. She is also mentioned in the FLR's "Literary Small Talk" (August 5, 1910), 7.

In one of his last letters, Hackett, discussing one of them, Ned Burling, with whom Hackett had been close in Chicago, mentioned other friends: Andrew Green, Robert

farm-wife; her husband was a farmer, tired yet obstinately refusing to surrender to defeat. Hackett joined the Lathams and their three daughters at the piano and sang.

He enjoyed his solitude in this rolling, wooded dairy Wisconsin. He took "lone walks, or chopped wood" and ate huge meals. Then he sat and "vainly" tried to create his novel. Three chapters of it survived at least until 1944. He did not do the main farm work with the pigs or the cattle.

Hackett often argued politics with Latham, who, despite depressed farm prices, was yet "a conservative." Hackett was at that point "all for LaFollette." He went "to have a look at the red-brick university, with its candid atmosphere under Mr. Charles Van Hise," and years later recalled "some words of wisdom by Professor E. A. Ross." Hackett, even then knowing something about "Irish cooperatives," had a great talk with Charles McCarthy. Hackett

Hamill, Bob Lovett, Robert Herrick, Joe Patterson, George Rublee, Tiffany Blake, and Margaret Day who married the latter. Francis Hackett to Felix Frankfurter, March 8, 1962, Felix Frankfurter Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), Box 15.

Ned Burling is identified by Who's Who in America, 1948-1949, as Edward Burnham Burling, born 1870, graduate of Grinnell and Harvard, a member of Bentley and Burling until the name Kumler was added. After 1919 Burling became a member of the firm of Covington, Burling, Rublee, Acheson and Shorb in Washington. During World War I, Burling was chief counsel for the U. S. Shipping Board. Hackett had much social connection in Chicago not only with Burling, but also with Joseph Medill Patterson, Tiffany Blake, Jane Addams, and others noted in the text. Francis Hackett to Lloyd Lewis, October 20, 1948, "Development Requests File" (Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois). Hackett once told Burling of his enthusiasm for Chicago. Hackett, I Chose Denmark, 115.

walked about, looked at the capitol, the square, the pleasant visage of Madison.

One night Hackett went with Latham into Madison to hear Woodrow Wilson, and even Latham was impressed. Hackett was then reading Henri Bergson's Creative Evolution and decided that Wilson needed Hackett's intellectual help, "but apart from this," Hackett recalled, "I was for him." Hackett and Latham were so stirred by Wilson that they rode home contemplating the political evening until the horse rudely spilled them into the Wisconsin snow.

During that winter Hackett walked often to Madison. He rode with Mrs. Fairbank to the great houses on Lake Mendota; he was more at home, he decided, in the Latham farm house. There he had all he needed, including a "folding tub from Abercrombie & Fitch." That spring, he recalled, having been notified that Dr. Hackett was dying, Francis left Wisconsin to return to Ireland. Later, when in 1915 and 1916 he was once more briefly in Madison, he sadly learned of great tragedies that had struck the kind Lathams.¹³

Hackett's letters to Hamlin Garland in November and December, 1911, indicate that he was seriously at work on a novel in Wisconsin. He thanked Garland for his offer to

¹³Francis Hackett, "A Winter in Wisconsin," The Wisconsin Magazine of History, XXVIII (December, 1944), 184-187. Hackett obviously did not leave for Ireland until after the Republican and Democratic Conventions, until at least July, 1912, in other words.

read the novel in manuscript. Hackett had by November begun typing the early chapters, he said, and would bring them to Chicago. In December, he told Garland that as an Irishman he realized that, although he had lived in the United States, he was not an American in the sense of the "Americanism" within Garland's Rose of Dutoher's Coolly, a book of "American youth, Wisconsin youth...."¹⁴

The remainder of 1912 was eventful. Hackett watched the Republican Convention in Chicago and the Progressive Party development which sprang from it, participated in the Democratic Party Convention in Baltimore, and returned to Ireland to his father's eventual death bed.¹⁵

Hackett and his brothers had long been connected with New York corporate and political lawyer and patron of the Irish cultural "renaissance," John Quinn. Late in 1902 Quinn had organized a New York branch of the Irish Literary Society, copying the organization of W. B. Yeats and his

¹⁴Garland, Companions on the Trail, 456-458. In September, 1911, old J. B. Yeats wrote that he had just met one of Francis Hackett's sisters out in Brooklyn at the Ingersoll home. [This was Raymond Ingersoll, head resident of Maxwell House settlement in Brooklyn]. She was happier doing settlement work instead of languishing in Kilkenny, she told him. Her brother, Yeats added, "a very brilliant journalist," had "abandoned the newspaper to write things after his own heart" and was then working on an article about W. B. Yeats for the Forum. [This was highly likely since Kennerley, Hackett's friend, then published the Forum]. J. B. Yeats to Lily Yeats, September 11, 1911, Joseph Hone, ed., J. B. Yeats: Letters to His Son W. B. Yeats and Others: 1869-1922 (New York: Dutton, 1946), 139-140.

¹⁵Francis Hackett to Ben Huebsch, Weds. [circa May 23, 1912]. Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers, Box 12, Folder 1907-1920, tells of Hackett's convention plans.

friends. It was an ambitious project of Irish cultural preservation and stimulation. All three Hackett brothers in America, Bryne, Francis, and Dom, helped him; but the issue of the church soon split the Irish Literary Society in New York and it died.¹⁶

Quinn and the Hacketts worked together in 1907 to advance John M. Synge's plays in America. During the summer of 1907 Hackett returned to Ireland and introduced himself as Francis Hackett and a friend of Quinn to Synge, Yeats, and the Abbey crowd. He reported to Quinn in August that the great, energetic patronage that Quinn had advanced would produce a Quinn legend in Ireland. Later, back in America, Hackett and Quinn had a little spat over a Chicago interview which Burns Mantle held with William Fay concerning an Abbey splinter group in America. In it Fay had held that Yeats, Lady Gregory, and Synge did not welcome new drama. But in 1909, on the death of Synge, Hackett and Quinn worked together in the late playwright's behalf. They continued to correspond on other things, such as the new Longmans edition of William Morris, and George Moore's Hail and Farewell, which, Quinn wrote Hackett in 1911, made him sleepy.¹⁷

¹⁶B. L. Reid, The Man from New York: John Quinn and His Friends (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 13.

¹⁷Reid, The Man from New York, 48-49, 56-57, 65-66, 97-99.

Hackett, who may still have been trying to write the novel which was never published, was helped financially in the spring and summer of 1912 by Quinn and was even lodged in Quinn's apartment for a month. Quinn then took Hackett along to the Democratic convention struggle in Baltimore that June.¹⁸

Francis Hackett, who had just been excited by the Roosevelt declaration of reform independence from the Taft Republicans in Chicago, went to the Baltimore convention pretty much as a Bull Mooser as well as a secretary to John Quinn, a delegate from New York whose political desires were definitely not those of Francis Hackett. Would Hackett like to go to Baltimore, Quinn had asked. "'What for?' I asked incredulously. 'To be my secretary at the convention.'" Hackett was then "footloose" and "jumped at it." Quinn, the "most unselfish friend of Ireland I'd ever known in America," traveled with Tammany Hall's Charles Murphy for whom Quinn also worked. Tammany disturbed Hackett, but he decided that, after all, he was only going as Quinn's "esquire."

Baltimore was mad clamor when Hackett arrived. Where should he join Quinn? "'On the platform,'" Quinn answered, while they were yet outside. Did Quinn have a ticket for Hackett? "'A man with a nose like yours doesn't need a ticket,'" Quinn quipped and turned to talk to Judge Dan Cohalan. Hackett, not quite so sure that he had a nose for

¹⁸ Reid, The Man from New York, 130.

power, worriedly went to the end of the line. Quinn, one-time secretary to old John Sherman, had walked in and out of conventions, but Francis, not so audacious, was clever enough to meet Quinn inside.

He stood next to Quinn at the platform. They wanted different things. Hackett at that point may or may not have wanted a man who would beat the divided Republicans. Certainly he wanted a progressive reformer to be nominated. He told Quinn all this. Quinn was, however, a "'practical politician'" who "sat with, and acted for Thomas Fortune Ryan." He was, in fact, Ryan's personal attorney, and they wanted to prevent the nomination of Woodrow Wilson through united boss and machine effort. Ryan's plans were to be upset by William Jennings Bryan and Roger Sullivan. Ryan wanted either Champ Clark or Oscar Underwood, Hackett believed. These were candidates, Hackett said, "that Honey Fitz, Charlie Murphy, Tom Taggart, and Roger Sullivan" fed to the delegates. After many ballots Sullivan decided, Hackett was told that, since so much Illinois sentiment existed for Wilson, he should give a "token vote" for two ballots to Wilson. Hackett was sent over to explain to Senator Bankhead of Alabama, an Underwood manager, what Sullivan was doing.

"Mr. Quinn says, 'Don't worry. It's all agreed on ...,'" he shouted into Bankhead's ear. Bankhead quickly nodded. No worry. Hackett reported this to Quinn. For two ballots Illinois voted for Wilson and Alabama stood for

Underwood. On the succeeding ballot, however, Sullivan again cast Illinois for Wilson and, Hackett recalled, "all hell broke loose then." Quinn rushed Hackett off to shout in Bankhead's ear that this too was agreed upon. Hackett scurried through the "bedlam," yelled his message to Bankhead, but Bankhead "shook me off" and fought his way to the platform convinced that Tammany had sold him out. There Bankhead withdrew Underwood and voted the state of Alabama for Woodrow Wilson. "That started it, from A to the White House," Hackett recalled, and Ryan's opposition collapsed.¹⁹

¹⁹Francis Hackett, "Tallulah's Grandfather and the Tammany Tigers," New Republic, CXXXV (August 20, 1950), 21-22. Hackett mentioned the thrill he first felt at hearing the roll-call at a national party convention, presumably the Republican convention in Chicago, and he felt at that moment somewhat more naturalized. Francis Hackett, "As An Alien Feels," New Republic, CXXXI (November 22, 1954), 106, reprinted from the New Republic (July 24, 1915).

Hackett's first extensive account of the Baltimore convention appeared in his first published novel, That Nice Young Couple (1925). There Hackett described the convention mob and used characters similar to those of his actual experience. He described Bryan's stale, uninspired, but effective oratory. The Quinn figure was very deferential before the party bosses. There were stand-ins for Ryan and others, much talk of Theodore Roosevelt, Progressivism, the New Nationalism, the need to prevent Roosevelt from capturing Democratic votes, and the story of the Illinois ballots. Francis Hackett, That Nice Young Couple (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925), 336-359. Hackett may have been more generous toward Wilson in his 1956 article because of the Adlai Stevenson campaign. Hackett used the parallel of party bosses seeking to block the reformer's nominations.

Harold Laski and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. were much impressed with the convention, although Laski did not like the rest of the novel. Laski to Holmes, May 9, 1925; Holmes to Laski, May 21, 1925, in Marcus deWolfe Howe, ed., Holmes-Laski Letters: The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Harold J. Laski: 1916-1935 (2 vols., Cambridge: Harvard

Quinn had gone to Baltimore seeking the nomination of a "'sane and conservative man,'" especially Underwood, and would not campaign for Bryan if he were nominated. Quinn worked with Underwood on June 22 in Washington on the platform. In Baltimore after July 3, he and Judge Cohalan "were in effect running Underwood's cause, under the nominal leadership" of Bankhead, according to Quinn's biographer. "'We had the fight won three times,'" Quinn angrily recalled, maintaining that they would have won if Bankhead had not lost his head and voted for Wilson precisely at a time when, Quinn believed, deadlock would have cleared the way for Underwood. Quinn dismissed Bankhead as a thing consisting only of hair, eyes, noise, but no guts. Wilson was an unrealistic intellectual lump of undigested Emerson, William Morris, and Samuel Smiles. Quinn had lost, and he was bitter.

After two decades of meeting with all presidents and most cabinet members, Quinn had been convinced that Underwood was a statesman. Consequently he believed that he had lost a real leader, as well as money, time, energy, and Hackett's friendship. As the fight had grown warm in Baltimore, Quinn had suddenly turned on Hackett "and denounced him as 'yellow' and a 'quitter.'" Quinn did not campaign

University Press, 1953), I, 739-741. Neither man knew Hackett in 1912, although both would shortly become fervent admirers of him.

for Wilson, but instead went to Paris for Thomas Fortune Ryan.²⁰ Hackett never forgave John Quinn.

That summer, certainly by that fall, Francis Hackett waited at his father's side in Kilkenny. He wrote Huebsch from 20 Patrick Street in November. He had not written before because he had expected to see mutual friends in London in October, but he could not get away that long. His father was feeling better and bore the pain courageously. He was independent, but glad that his family was there. No one could do anything. He might live a half year or die very soon. The wear on Hackett's mother was the heaviest to bear. Yet it was not so bad as the whole thing might sound to Huebsch, Hackett assured him, because Dr. Hackett's beautiful concern was for them, not himself. One feels from the letter that Francis' love and admiration for his father had never been so intense.

Hackett had not finished any literary work in Kilkenny; time passed unnoticed. He was eager for news. Had anyone accepted the rather insincere manuscript he had read for Huebsch? Had the socialist weekly materialized? What were Huebsch's plans if it had not? What about the other manuscripts?

Hackett had been discussing politics in Kilkenny with Lady Desart, a reformer of the welfare-patronage type, but yet well-intentioned, as much as anyone could be inside that social barrier that even Whitman could not destroy. The

²⁰ Reid, The Man from New York, 130-133.

American presidential election, Hackett decided, was a victory for William Jennings Bryan, for Bryan had made it possible for Wilson to be nominated and thus had prevented the election of Theodore Roosevelt. Hackett wished Bryan had not done it because, he theorized, if Champ Clark had been the party nominee then the political machines in the states would have been crushed by an insurgent progressive party victory. But now the reform party was a crippled creature.

Hackett recognized that while he was intrigued by all of this he was really uninformed. Ireland, he pointed out, continued its own political, religious, and educational turmoil. Hackett had little hope for the Irish future. The Irish farmer, although now helped by the land acts, himself had to be completely reformed. Hackett hoped to write and publish on that whole matter. Could Huebsch send word of any literary work that Hackett might do for a New York magazine or newspaper. He had lost hope of getting an Irish connection with a London journal and so wanted a sometime London task for a New York concern. Hackett did not know when he would return to America; it would be over a year at least, but someday....²¹

²¹Francis Hackett to B. W. Huebsch, November 11, 1912, Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers, Box 12, Folder 1907-1920. Jane Addams, Hackett later recalled, had been in 1912 a Progressive without "illusions about the Sacred Bull Moose." Francis Hackett, "Hull House--A Souvenir," Survey, LIV (June 1, 1925), 275-280.

It seems, to confuse the chronology even more, that sometime before June 12, 1912, Francis Hackett may have

Another publisher friend, Alfred Harcourt, probably having learned through Huebsch or Hackett that Hackett was available for editorial labor, called him to London in the winter of 1913. Harcourt, on selling trips for Henry Holt, had met the young editor of the FLR, "the most influential review in the West." Later Harcourt had volunteered to find for Holt new British and European publications and to sell the British publication rights on Holt's volumes. Old Henry Holt, having first asked Wilbur Cross of Yale if Harcourt could manage, sent him to Europe.

On Harcourt's second such trip for Holt he found that he had to consider so many pages and so many words that he asked Hackett to come from Ireland and help him for a few weeks. He met Hackett at the Paddington station. Hackett confessed, Holt recalled, that he had never been to London. Holt delighted in showing the city to him. He and Hackett worked on books and manuscripts constantly for two weeks. One day, at the end of his work with Holt in London, Hackett received a very long letter. As he read it Hackett became visibly excited. He shoved page after page toward Harcourt. The letter was from Herbert Croly. Croly had secured financial support from the Willard Straights for a journal of opinion; he outlined his plans for it. The first issue of the New Republic would appear at the end of the following

spent three months in the Adirondacks writing. Hackett may imply this in his letter to Ben Huebsch, June 13, 1912, on Lake Placid Club stationary, Essex County, New York, Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers, Box 12, Folder 1907-1920.

autumn. Would Francis Hackett like to be its literary editor? Hackett, knowing that his father would soon die, readily informed Croly that he would join the New Republic adventure.²² Hackett was chosen, Walter Lippmann remembered, "because he was a brilliant editor of the book section" of the Chicago Evening Post, the Friday Literary Review.²³

Hackett's second immigration to America would bring him to work in the old brownstone houses in New York's Chelsea District. He would now be the founding literary editor (and more) of one of the nation's most important journalistic adventures. He was once more in New York by the spring of 1914, for on that date he angrily and ably wrote to the New York Nation in defense of Irish immigration. Among the exceptions to the Nation's hostile view of the Irish immigrant, Hackett said, the first thing that came to his mind was "the unadvertised Irish blood in Prof. William James...."²⁴

²²Harcourt, Some Experiences, 13-17. Harcourt, incidentally, I believe, mistakenly described Hackett as a Dublin University graduate.

²³Walter Lippmann to author, May 4, 1967.

²⁴Francis Hackett, "Correspondence," The Nation, XCVIII (June 4, 1914), 662-663. This was in angry reply to an article by Professor Henry P. Fairchild of Yale University, April 16, 1914. Hackett rather pointedly listed E. L. Godkin's as the third Irish name. For general background to the New Republic's board of editors and inception of the venture, see Forcey, Crossroads of American Liberalism, 180-181. See also Felix Frankfurter to Philip L. Miller, March 11, 1913, Box 27; Herbert Croly to Frankfurter, June 29, 1913, Box 10; Miller to Frankfurter, October 2,

1913, Box 62; Morris [Cohen?] to Frankfurter, October 7, 1913, Box 62; Croly to Frankfurter, October 10 [1913], Box 62; Croly to Frankfurter [1913], Box 62; Croly to Frankfurter [March 3, 1914], Box 62; Frankfurter to Max Lerner, November 12, 1949, Box 23, Felix Frankfurter Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.). For other connections between some of Hackett's friends and writers in Chicago and other New Republic editors prior to 1914, see the Robert Herrick Papers (University of Chicago Library, Chicago, Illinois), Box 27, especially those letters in which Herrick and Robert Morss Lovett indicate that they kept in touch with both Herbert Croly and Phillip Littell, dated July 19, 1906, October 22, 1906, November 21, 1906, September 8, 1907, and December 5, 1913. See also George Test, "Vital Connection," which traces some of these friendships, the one between Lovett and Littell, for instance, which went back to their youth.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION: THE APPRENTICESHIP

In ancient Kilkenny beside the Nore, where culture was something that had happened in the past, Francis Hackett had grown into Parnellism and cultural nationalism. In his father's home were faded gentility and family tensions, but there were also hordes of books and a respect for learning, service, and dedication to national reform. The conflicts Francis early sensed in Kilkenny became serious personal problems, especially in his last year at Jesuit Clongowes Wood college in Kildare. As the atrophy of Kilkenny drove him from Ireland, the Jesuit political opportunism, the formalistic and authoritarian teaching, and Jesuit moral strictures sapped his religious faith. In Patrick street he learned a glorious self-reliance which the Jesuits forbade. Ultimately he chose the Parnellite struggle against dictation rather than the church's demand for obedience. Steeped in nineteenth-century British culture, Hackett was first excited by Thackeray and Dickens, but by 1898 had discovered George Meredith, Whitman, Crane, and Garland, as well as the Irish radical James Fintan Lalor. As an Irish nationalist and a democrat, he learned to resent the English and all privileged aristocracies, to

sympathize with the poor, to suspect established institutions and established culture of tyranny, and to recognize that value and beauty existed where one found them, not where they were supposed to be.

In 1901 Francis suffered the shock of immigration, which, followed by his early struggle in the jungles of competitive commercialism and an indifferent urban society, intensified his alienation. Francis was but one of the more cosmopolitan, intellectual, and better prepared immigrants, so often lost by historians assessing the impact of immigration on America, who would contribute much to American culture in the twentieth century. Immigration and the experiences of his first five years in America stiffened his resistance to the notion of an automatically progressing universe and sharpened his attention to the victims of competitive commerce and established cultural values. Homesick and excited, he groped his way through various low employments from 1901 to 1906. His experiences as a clerk in Marshall Field's basement and as a cub-reporter on Hearst's Chicago American led to three articles of more than muckrakash criticism of American life. He landed a job at the Chicago Evening Post and began a year of residence in Hull House. Jane Addams and the settlement workers made a lasting impression on him. Jane Addams and the writings of William James helped him to transcend the simpler moral exhortation of muckrake journalism and helped him to appreciate the necessity of reorientating the powers

within the society. They lent point and substance to his adolescent war on experience-denying formulas and his maturing humanitarian concern for the quality of life. From these "two great Americans" especially he learned a sociology, a psychology, and a philosophy which provided intellectual form for his critical and reformist tendencies. Culture, truth, and the individual pursuit of happiness, they taught him, were plural and contingent.

There were two parts to the Chicago Renaissance, an older, genteel realist movement founded on New England cultural values, and the "Liberation," bohemian and romantic (unconsciously part of a new intellectual current in the Western world), which began around 1912. Hackett's work at the Post and his residence in Hull House had by 1909 connected him with the leading lights of the older movement who now advanced his career and supported him in his new venture, editorship of the Post's new literary supplement, the Friday Literary Review. Hackett, from 1909 to the summer of 1911, not only made the FLR a successful review magazine of Midwestern and, among publishers and writers, a national reputation, but there advanced all the major writers and most of the ideas that vitally influenced not only the Chicago Liberation but also the later (1914-1917) New York phase of the Rebellion which, as Henry May so ably demonstrates, carried even farther the beginnings of the basic cultural revolution of the twentieth century.

In the FLR the ideas and the "new spirit" of the pre-war intellectual rebellion first emerged in sustained form. The FLR advanced the romantic realism of the new radical literature and the new forces in sociology, psychology, economics, and philosophy. It made war on the radical, social, sexual, and institutional customs of the established society. Hackett became something of a bridge between the genteel and the alienated intellectuals, but he countered the established New England tradition as the accepted culture, as well as the belief in a moral, naturally progressing universe, with Wells, Shaw, the William James of flux and freedom, Dostolevsky, Bennett, Meredith, Butler, Rolland, and Sigmund Freud. He introduced the neodemocratic, pragmatic, realist Rebellion to the Midwest. Hackett was uniquely comfortable amidst university intellectuals of both genteel and radical alienation, with bohemians, with settlement workers, with progressive reformers, and with socialists, without losing his own identity. This was possible in great part because he and his FLR were more intellectual than artistic in character and effect. The genteel writers had tried to foster a community spirit within the established society, but Hackett, questioning that society's allegiance to a fixed order in all aspects of culture, realized that a revolution, cultural, economic, social, and political, had to be made.

The criticism and the literature that Hackett called for was independent and in direct touch with life as lived

rather than theories about how it should be lived. With faith in cultural vitality he called for an unfettered and sincere realism. Art isolated from life was bad. Life was more than idea. Art was the artist's sincere expression of his own experience, but craft was necessary since spontaneity alone could not create great art. But art was not a technical exercise; it was a "means of life" and did not exist apart from experience. Hackett usefully rejected the high culture and the low rejection of all real art. Sincere experience was relative, morals contingent, and criticism had to test by relative standards. Life changed; its cultural expression changed. As a democrat Hackett believed that he had to erect a bridge between real art and the people, whom he refused to romanticize. He rejected the simplicities of Chapman, Willard Huntington Wright, H. L. Mencken, and the socialists. Impressionistic criticism was better than the conventional fare, but the good critic, true to his own impressions, self-critical, had also to cultivate "his social and pragmatic sense." Hackett, far from being merely a transplanted British Fabian in criticism or a mere impressionist accepting anything which was new, or even an early "literary radical" conveniently lumped with Van Wyck Brooks, was a sensitive, journalistic-critic deeply concerned about the national culture and the puzzling relations between literature, morality, human nature, beauty, and contemporary society. He was much more complex and much more perceptive than

either his detractors or his admirers have made him. Hackett reminds us that the Progressive era was indeed rich and complex in the variation of its thought. He anticipated, moreover, far more of their complaints about the Liberation than present scholars have realized.

Reticence was bad, but realism was a much more complicated literary tool than many who practiced it assumed. Hackett was far from blind to the dangers of perversion in literary realism or philosophic relativism, although he may not have realized the extent to which he functioned on moral capital inherited from the nineteenth century. Critics, he held, had to respond to the "unconventional forms of beauty." Independence, he realized, was only the first step. Doing without the old rules did not make all things equal. The artist, the writer, the people, all needed to use and appreciate "reason, imagination and feeling." To the formalist Hackett offered relativism, to the "popular" critic standards tentative but capable of verification by honest experience, penetrating, and sincere enough for necessary discrimination. Criticism was an act of creation, rather than discovery through empirical deduction from absolutist first-truths of literary fixity. The critic dispensed his truth for its assimilative potential. He was not a propagandist but a seeker, a finder, a creator. In his criticism Hackett applied the sociological and humanitarian spirit of Jane Addams through the philosophical liberation of William James and the modern English writers. Part of the revolt

against formalism, he went beyond it to formulate subtle methods of discriminating, of applying James' philosophy to literary standards. The critical philosophy that Hackett articulated was a vital and enduring method of selecting valuable cultural expression in the world of relativism. As a philosophy, both Hackett and Jane Addams in effect remind us, the pragmatism of James or John Dewey was not mere practicalism, material and opportunistic, but a battle waged against the compartmentalization of life and the denial of community.

To Hackett, as to William James, the reality rightly or wrongly described by Richard Hofstadter as characteristic of the progressive period, naturalistic and determined, was incomplete and inhuman. Reality, when it was revealed in fiction, existed in the characters, creatures of blood and skin, emotions and reason, consciousness and subconsciousness, who were not type, nor idea, nor puppets in a materially or otherwise determined world. They, like reality, were not static, but changed and evolved. Real literature was drawn from experience which was internal as well as external, as subconscious and emotional as it was conscious and rational. Hackett, therefore, tested, praised, and censored writers, British, European, and American, to the degree that they skillfully portrayed this reality. Galsworthy, Wells, Shaw, Bennett, Masfield, Frank Harris, and E. M. Forster were partially successful in this, while Max Beerbohm and others had compensatory gifts, but Romain

Rolland and Fyodor Dostoevsky were even more successful. Robert Herrick and the other Americans publishing fiction between 1909 and 1911, whatever their virtues, failed in significant ways.

Man was complex. Hackett's eclecticism in praising disparate writers insisted on at least a facet of reality honestly presented in art. He did not, moreover, confuse their different virtues. Hackett wanted contemporary fiction, not new propaganda. Rolland and Dostoevsky were praised not least because they fictively removed partitions which fragmented and compartmentalized life. Reality was not simple and material but complicated and changing. In saying this, in turning to Freud for liberation from taboo and "type," Hackett did not glorify the irrational, but, rather, discovered and used Freud in hopes of increasing the scope of reality and life rationally described. Freudian psychology was, first of all, the means of individual and cultural liberation. Hackett tried to wed progressivism (while skeptical of its conservatism and moral simplicities), relativism (conditioned by the test of the pursuit of human happiness itself contingent), and the new psychology (a means of knowledge and freedom rather than nihilism); he tried to wed reform, reason, and emotion in a vital complex of ideas instrumental to a new democracy and a new human mastery of life itself. Later, in the shadow of the European war, Hackett in the New Republic would have

to wrestle with the darker strains of pessimism, and his philosophic tenets would then have to become less tentative.

Herbert Croly and the other founders of the New Republic, a journal intended to serve as an organ of cultural as well as political rebirth, turned to this literary critic and editor for his skill and proven competence, but also because Hackett's view of reality in the Progressive Era was, or at least seemed to be, sufficiently congenial to theirs.

Francis Hackett was a staunch supporter of the Progressive Party which began in 1912, and this, with his ideas described throughout this study but especially in chapter six, identify him as a progressive. But, as we have seen, he was considerably to the left of the national progressive leaders and most of the movement. He was considerably more alienated from the precepts, goals, patterns, and fears of American life than most Progressives. Again, it was James' intellectual liberation, Jane Addams' intellectual and humanitarian influence, and the European realistic literature that helped place him in the extreme left of the movement. As a progressive, Francis Hackett simply does not fit the general descriptions by George Mowry, Richard Hofstadter, or Gabriel Kolko. His progressivism was not a form of higher social, political, or business conservatism.¹

¹See George E. Mowry, The Era of Theodore Roosevelt (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), 94-95; Richard

Hackett, instead, most belongs with that group of radical progressives who were settlement workers or who were inspired toward democratic humanism by the settlement. Less concerned with the personal problem of status, with business organization, they were more sympathetic in their attitude toward the labor union and the worker, toward the immigrant and the Negro; they sound, as does Hackett in many ways, far more like modern reformers especially in the Civil Rights movement than other progressives of the time. The settlement, and especially Hull House, were, according to Allen Davis, "spearheads for reform in the progressive era."²

Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), 131-172; Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916 (Quadrangle ed., Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), 2.

² Allen F. Davis, Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlement and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), xii-xv, 25. Jane Addams and other settlement workers had the impulse to do something useful, "but they decided quite rationally to try to solve the pressing problems of urban America." Hackett's brief tenure at Hull House during his early twenties was, as Davis' composite sketch, p. 33, demonstrates, in keeping with the usual pattern of settlement residency.

John Dewey's daughter said that Jane Addams and Hull House had vitally shaped Dewey's democratic faith (Davis, p. 58).

At the Progressive Party convention in Chicago in 1912, in a picture which contrasts with Kolko's, Jane Addams saw so many familiar faces that she felt as though she were at the American Sociological Association. She seconded the nomination of Roosevelt as did Ben Lindsey. Raymond Robbins seconded that of Hiram Johnson as the party's nominee for the vice presidency. Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 197. The settlement workers, Davis points out, unlike the George Perkins wing of the party, were more interested in legislating social justice than in regulating the trusts. Many of them would in the 1930s turn up in New Deal agencies.

The settlement impulse has been, as we see in this study of Francis Hackett, very influential on American reform attitudes. In the light of what we know about the settlement and the Jamesian influence on Hackett and his friends in New York and Chicago, it seems strange, granted the thesis Gabriel Kolko pursued, that his "Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916" nowhere discusses Jane Addams, William James, or the settlement movement. This study of Francis Hackett bears out the contention of John Higham, Henry May, Allen Davis, and others that progressivism was a varied movement. National and political progressivism may indeed have been a conservative triumph, but the intellectual and cultural revolt to which it was related was not. If political reform ultimately failed by standards other than those of efficient conservatism, the cultural revolution, if not always in the ways and directions its pre-war makers intended, did triumph. Francis Hackett, the critic as witness to American life, had played, even in his apprenticeship, a significant part in the intellectual rebellion which would reshape modern culture.

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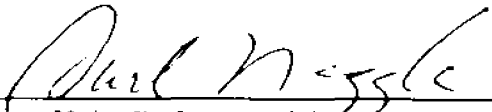
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Hyland B. Packard, Jr.

Major Field: History

Title of Thesis: CRITIC AS WITNESS: FRANCIS HACKETT AND HIS AMERICA, 1883-1914

Approved:



Major Professor and Chairman


Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:









Date of Examination:

October 18, 1969